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ABSTRACT

In the mid-1960's, the American Jewish Committee published a report on suburban schools' failure (or inability) to teach children about "human differences." Since then, there have been significant changes and solid progress in some school systems: new textbooks and supplementary materials have been published; new courses have been added to teachers' training. Ethnic, really multiethnic, ferment is now accepted as part of the 1970's social climate. But now the difficult task is just beginning, especially in the schools. There are many ways school administrations, teachers, and curriculum developers interpret "ethnic studies." Most of the materials reviewed in this publication were extensions of traditional education methods. Yet, as the examples suggest, the area of ethnic studies offers many possibilities for innovation that go beyond adding textual content or new individual learning packets. There are many needs for sensitivity, self-understanding, and a better grasp of the complexities of American reality among all children. Similar needs exist among teachers. Publishers are beginning to shape materials more along truly multiethnic, pluralistic lines. One purpose of this paper is to point to useful examples so that each school or system does not feel compelled to "reinvent the wheel." In short, new curricula in ethnic studies, or adding an ethnic dimension to existing curricula, need not be difficult. (Author/JM)

the schools and group identity

educating for a new pluralism

edited by Judith Herman

INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY
AN AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE PROJECT ON GROUP LIFE AND ETHNIC AMERICA

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Introduction

Standing between Watergate and the Bicentennial, America seems to be groping for a new national definition and confidence. Though there are repeated and important calls for a strengthened social unity, it is becoming clearer that such unity cannot come at the cost of ignoring important differences within our broad population. For it is not that people are selfish or narrow in their view of the national interest; it is more that their values and perceptions are inevitably based in their experiences and historical backgrounds and thus will differ from group to group according to ethnicity, religion, class, age, region, social setting, sex, and many other factors.

In the past several years, many institutions in American society have begun, if sometimes tentatively, to grapple with the real implications of "e pluribus unum," a single society created from many parts. An important thrust has been directed at the schools, from early childhood through higher and professional education, since what seems to be involved in working out a "new pluralism" for America relates to images and values that most of us remember learning when we were young.

Ethnicity is one of the more dramatic "group identity movements," and is the chief focus of this publication. Along with women's studies and a new emphasis on working class studies, ethnic studies programs have begun to proliferate. The recent, though modest, funding of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act has sparked interest and energy among white ethnic groups to parallel earlier efforts of Blacks and other minorities. Correcting distortions and counteracting invisibility, all of these programs can result in a more honest, if more complicated, view of American society.

A creative approach to various group identities may offer the schools a new framework for achieving an integration based on more than numerical formulas. The erosion in law and practice

of earlier desegregation initiatives may become one of the tragic events of the 1970s and force us to look at new strategies.

The earlier and simpler Black-white conceptualization of the issue was crucial in eliminating blatant inequality. The fight against racism must still have a high priority in the schools and elsewhere. But advocates of integrated schools may end up sharing with opponents some of the responsibility for setbacks if that Black-white dichotomy remains their only analysis. Certainly a better Black-white balance still needs to be achieved. Perhaps integration can be more effectively realized if we add to our educational approaches those based more broadly on multiethnic and multi-group oriented experiences.

We need a broad application of some of the experimental programs outlined in this booklet. It would be a mistake to see programming around group identity as only an educational or political fad. Many groups, ethnic and otherwise, seem to be looking for community and a sense of internal harmony. It has never been easy to achieve such ends, as groups' goals often conflict with one another and the temptation for narrow group chauvinism is difficult to contain and does present a danger.

Advocates of greater recognition for pluralism lose credibility if they underestimate the need for unity as well as for diversity. There is no need to deny the existence of a common culture or to insensitively label as pejoratively WASP whatever displeases us about the American heritage. But our standards do need to be scrutinized once again for their faithfulness to ideals of freedom and diversity. The schools offer one place to generate change—in information, values, self concepts, and concrete skills that we will all need for a "new pluralism."

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Foreword

For years teachers have been urged to become reasonably aware of each student's individual needs, achievements, and endowments. Less emphasis in teacher development was placed upon the need to know values and behavior which students shared within their community group. The influence of such cultural characteristics was viewed as transitory and not central to school programs. Few teachers or students were actively encouraged to study their own cultures, much less come to know and experience others.

One obstacle to considering different cultures in school programs is the complexity of group affiliation. An individual belongs to many groups, each of which has its own culture. For example, there are ethnic, regional, generational, sex, religious, and economic groupings. Furthermore, the degree of affiliation with a group varies among its members. Even an individual member continuously changes in the variety and extent of group or cultural identification. Confronted with such real complexity, the schools have traditionally ignored pluralism and sought simply for unity. To recognize group affiliation, it was thought, would be divisive—in spite of the evident existence of diversity in our communities, nation and world.

Recently both controversy and commitment have resulted in a new wave of interest in ethnic cultures. Historic endeavors to ignore ethnic pluralism and assimilate Americans into a single dominant culture have been repudiated by some scholars and community leaders. Perpetuation of such policies, they suggest, engenders educational failures and social divisiveness. But even as dissent from a "melting pot" policy has increased, some advocates of assimilation continue to urge on the schools a purpose of cultural singularity. At most, allowance is made for domestic ethnic and foreign studies additives which supplement monocultural school programs.

While the traditional homogeneous emphasis of the schools deters the provision of pluralistic experiences, even more constraining are the lack of clearly described objectives and tested strategies for the inclusion of different cultural influences. To stimulate model initiatives in ethnic cultural studies and intercultural learning, significant research, pedagogical, and financial support are necessary. Some assistance has been made available by foundations and the federal government.

The youngest of the federal programs related to intercultural education is Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program. The purpose as stated in the Act is "to afford students opportunities to know more about the nature of their own heritage and to study the contributions of the cultural heritage of other ethnic groups of the nation." The Act requires the preparation of teachers and curriculum materials for our schools by or in cooperation with ethnic groups.

This federal commitment recognizes the continuing existence and validity of ethnic pluralism. It urges the reduction of educational disadvantage and social divisiveness caused by personnel and curriculum insensitivity to the cultural influences in the lives of individuals and communities. It seeks to support the realization of educational gains that can result from cultural diversity. And, above all, it encourages citizens in a pluralistic society to achieve intercultural competence—self-acceptance, acceptance of one's own culture and acceptance of other cultures.

The national response to the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program has been immense. Despite the brief one-month period available for preparation of proposals, more than 1,000 plans were proposed to the United States Office of Education for only 42 grants. The federal appropriation in fiscal 1974 was little more than $2 million, but the eligible proposals sought over $83 million.

Substantial interest in ethnic studies was evident in applications from every state as well as from Puerto Rico, Guam, Samoa, and the Virgin Islands. Rural as well as urban and suburban communities proposed pluralistic studies. The entire spectrum of education—pre-school, elementary, secondary and higher education—were presented as needing new culturally pluralistic objectives, personnel, and programs.

Particularly unusual was the broad range of ethnicity reflected in the national response. It is estimated that more than 50 ethnic cultures were represented in the presentation. These included

such endeavors as "A Project in Multi-Cultural Learning," "The Greek-American Contribution to the American Society," "The Ethnic Heritage Studies Program with an Emphasis on Afro-Americans," "A Model in Multiethnic Heritage Studies," and "The California Ethnic Heritage Program."

The majority of proposals submitted and selected were multi-ethnic. For example, a project in Illinois indicated the cooperative activity of 23 ethnic groups; the Michigan Southeast Regional Ethnic Heritage Studies Center engaged more than 50 ethnic organizations in a commitment to the development of inter-cultural education; and the plan for the "Encyclopedia of Ethnicity" suggests that it will contain information concerning 150 to 250 American ethnic groups.

The quantity and caliber of interest in Ethnic Heritage Studies Programs are noteworthy, but just as significant are the needs and problems which were expressed in the proposals.

First, a dominant theme reflected in the national response reinforced the view that restriction of the cultural experience in the school to a single, dominant culture is a cause of educational alienation for some students and a source of severe ethnocentrism for all. The lack of second culture experience aborts the necessary preparation of our young people to live in a multi-ethnic society.

A second concern evident in a number of applications was the need for clarity in defining what ethnic studies will accomplish. Why give place to ethnic studies, what benefits accrue as a result, and how can one be assured that such gains are achieved? The programs are often moored to purposes which are valid but vague, such as "ethnic awareness" and "intercultural understanding." Such goals are difficult to apply directly or operationally to classroom work with youngsters. Obscurity of objectives is the major reason why planning and evaluation are consistently inadequate. As Hilda Taba has stated, "The lack of clarity about the nature, objectives and methodology of cross-cultural learning is crippling . . . for example, programs often assume that knowledge about people or a country automatically creates a favorable attitude."

Another curriculum issue involves the relationship of ethnic studies to the entire school program. Rather than scattering ethnic projects about the school or creating special ethnic units and courses which supplement the mono-cultural curriculum, it appears essential that pluralistic experiences permeate the regu-

lar curriculum. There is need for an *inter-cultural dimension* in education. The task is to incorporate data and experiences from domestic ethnic cultures into the regular program which is pursued by the majority of students.

For example, the nationwide interest in the conceptual approach to social studies has produced an organized program for kindergarten to grade twelve. Examples from different domestic and foreign cultures are effective in teaching these concepts: for instance, in studying the concept of family roles in the first grade, a teacher might call upon Puerto Rican, Italian-American, and Chinese examples. The use of different group settings and particular cultural examples of the same universal concepts has two important outcomes. On the one hand, it leads students to expect the unity or oneness of man as demonstrated by universal needs and universal forces influencing human behavior. On the other hand, students come to know and accept without threat the differentiated cultural experiences of these needs. In the words of Gordon Allport, cultural groups will "see each other as variants of a common humanity."

The endeavor to permeate the regular curriculum enhances the commitment to bilingual-bicultural education, ethnic studies courses and international studies. Instead of these subjects remaining as specialized components, they should together add a total intercultural dimension to American education.

Intercultural learning in our schools can hardly be realized unless professional personnel—teachers, administrators, curriculum specialists, community relations coordinators—are themselves provided the resources to become interculturally competent and comfortable. Teachers who are personally monocultural cannot realistically be expected to create classroom situations that help children become interculturally proficient.

Certain intercultural knowledge, attitudes and skills may be necessary for the individual teacher in a *professional* role, e.g., competency to design simulated second culture situations in a classroom, or to draw upon the multi-cultural resources of the community. Yet, intercultural personal competence is even more essential, i.e., openness, trust, and ability to communicate with persons, young and adult, from other cultures.

A final problem recurring in the Ethnic Heritage Studies proposals was the emphasis on studying *about* cultures, rather than directly experiencing them. A number of proposals recommended

the need for an approach that includes both cognitive and affective development, recognizing that cognitive input may be influenced and screened by an individual's values and attitudes. There is evidence that people may see, hear, and learn largely what they want, what their attitudes and values will allow.

We need to develop sound models, analytic and experience-based, which focus both upon understanding the processes of culture and participating in them. The most significant source of experience is in our own communities, especially our pluralistic communities. While some ethnic communities express antagonism toward schools which they see as mono-cultural, these communities could instead become cooperative locations of second culture experiences, partners with our schools in designing an appropriate education for students. The variety of human expression so real in the lives of people can then become a force for education in classroom and home, with child learning interculturally from child, and citizen from citizen.

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John A. Carpenter is currently on leave from the University of Southern California and in service to the U.S. Office of Education. This foreword was written by Dr. Carpenter in his private capacity. No official support or other endorsement by the U.S. Office of Education is intended or should be inferred.

Educating for a "New Pluralism"

In 1909, an educator wrote that a major task of education in American cities was to "break up these (immigrant) groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government. . ."

Sixty years later, the Congress of the United States passed the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act, giving official "recognition (to) the heterogeneous composition of the Nation and the fact that in a multiethnic society a greater understanding of the contributions of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic and committed populace. . ."

What brought about this ideological switch? Does the change in talk about American society reflect reality or just rhetoric? Do we really mean that the "melting pot" concept has been replaced, or have we just exchanged the slogan of "cultural pluralism" for earlier images without changing the reality? How are these ideas reflected in our schools, in what our children learn?

This report examines these and related questions. It looks at theory and practice: at past, present, and future: and it attempts to offer practical responses to the multiethnic reality of American life. It focuses on schools as instruments for making American pluralism work.

RENEWED INTEREST IN ETHNICITY

During the first quarter of this century, there was considerable interest in ethnic groups. After all, America had absorbed an incredibly large number of immigrants, and the task of molding these disparate groups into one nation was a difficult one. Many studies were done and many organizations formed to help ethnic groups in their transition to American-ness. On the surface they seemed successful: people did learn English, become citizens, and adopt "the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness."

The world wars and the Depression that separated them, the economic boom following World War II, and the suburbanization stage of metropolitan development in the '50s all contributed to a greater emphasis on the forces that unified people with a lesser emphasis on ethnic differences and distinctiveness. "Intergroup relations" concentrated on Blacks as the largest left-out group and emphasized legal desegregation, first of the Armed Forces, then of public schools, public accommodations, employment, and housing. The central intergroup issue was prejudice, and theorists concentrated on understanding those individual attitudes that resulted in discriminatory behavior.

But toward the late 1960s, two things happened that forced us to look at ourselves again as a multiethnic, not merely a Black-white, society. Even as the Kerner Commission reported in 1968 that "we are moving toward two societies, one Black, one white," it was becoming clear that among both white and non-white Americans, there was still considerable diversity. And while that report spoke eloquently and with necessary urgency about the needs of Blacks, it masked the degree to which there were still important unmet needs among segments of the white population as well. Social and economic needs and unresolved problems of ethnic group identity began to surface among Jews, Italians, Poles, Greeks, and other groups.

The first important influence on this new consciousness and expression was economics. In 1967, real purchasing power for blue collar workers declined, and the onward-and-upward success stories for the children and grandchildren of earlier immigrants seemed to be coming to an end. It no longer looked like the children could automatically go to college, with costs constantly rising. Nor did it seem that passing down an apprenticeship in the union to one's son was a sure thing. The home that was finally purchased might become subject to real estate speculation and could lose in value, wiping out all the years of saving for it. Suddenly the American dream did not look as close to coming true as it once did.

At the same time that the economic squeeze began, another force sparked what might be called an "identity squeeze." The Black movement, focus of considerable public attention—if not adequate programmatic response—appeared to switch from a central integrationist thrust to one based on Black identity. This approach, combining power and culture, is still generating controversy, but it did gain legitimacy among some leaders of Amer-

ican opinion. A "my own group first" strategy looked like one which had the potential to pay off.

From the viewpoint of white ethnic groups, these changes in economics and identity expression, coming together as they did, might have communicated this message: "Here we were, taught by our parents and schools that in America everyone could make it, if we would only become real Americans and drop those elements that made us different. But now we see we are *not* making it, and the people who look like they are making progress seem to be doing it by emphasizing their identity, not by denying it. Maybe that's the way we should go, too."

This response has been described as reactive, as "me too," and as essentially opportunistic and false. For some, it may have been. But for many, especially the new generation of ethnic leaders, it was a real response. It was in part a sense that the requirement for success in America seemed to be an estrangement from family and history; that for all its rhetoric about pluralism, America didn't mean for ethnicity to go beyond the boundaries of food, a few statues or parades honoring heroes, or colorful costumes and dances.

For many individuals from ethnic communities, this new feeling about the importance of ethnic background took the form of questions rather than certainties. What does my history mean to me? How tied do I want to be to my family and neighborhood? How much do I know about where my grandparents and parents came from, or why, or what they went through? What does it mean to "be American"—is that some standardized image, and who set it up? How much am I, or have I become, just "white"? And—probably most important—what do I want to be? How do I arrive at a blending of my personal individuality, my family and cultural roots, and my American-ness?

One of the first places looked to for help in sorting out some of these problems was the school. The Black complaint against invisibility in curriculum was echoed first by Spanish-language groups, American Indians, and Asian-Americans. Then the protest was picked up by white ethnic groups, who realized that their parents and grandparents had been relegated to "huddled masses" and "wretched refuse from teeming shores" in the gospel of American history. Everyone now wanted to be included.

For schools, this naturally created great difficulty. When would there be time to teach anything else in American history if all these demands were met? Whose version of ethnic groups' stories

would be told? What should happen in homogeneous ethnic classrooms, in mixed settings, or where students did not consider themselves ethnic? What did teachers have to work with in the way of material, and what training should they have in dealing with ethnicity?

Other social forces complicated things even more. Non-English speaking groups were discovered to suffer tremendous harm by the absence of sound bilingual programs. Women complained about educational materials and practices that perpetuated sex-typing and discrimination. Labor union leaders demanded more attention to working class history, as they felt that part of their younger members' rebellion grew from ignorance of labor's past struggles.[1]

For schools, there is a growing recognition that these forces—multiethnicity, feminism, and working class awareness—cannot be wished away. There is also an understanding that they can be educationally constructive if handled well, or fragmenting and narrowing if dealt with badly. A search is beginning for ways of responding to these complicated educational issues to help students learn to live in a genuinely pluralistic society.

ETHNIC IDENTITY—WHAT IS IT?

"Identity" is a word that has come to be used very loosely, usually paired with such other terms as "crisis" or "quest." "I am going through an identity crisis" is, in some college dormitories, as common a statement as "I think I'm getting the flu." But what the word means, or how schools can help a child to understand or define it, is far more difficult to pin down. We have a feeling about individual identity, that, like love, we will know it when we are face to face with it.

In a similar way, the word "ethnic" is much used and less clear. Some use it as a substitute for "Black" or "nonwhite"; others associate it with descendants of European immigrants. Time after time, people drawn together to discuss ethnic concerns raise questions of definition even though "we all know who and what we're talking about."

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a concept that is extremely difficult to deal with because it has both conscious and unconscious elements. On the

unconscious, descriptive level, ethnicity refers to a commonness of traits related to heredity and cultural influences. These traits may be physical, especially where the ethnic group has married within itself for a long time; they may be behavioral, such as gestures or other forms of "body language"; they may be emotional, such as reactions to pain; or they may be cultural, related to values such as the importance of family or education. In all of these cases, we need to add that ethnic background leads only to a *tendency* toward having any particular trait, a likelihood that is greater in one ethnic group than another, and not to a reliable prediction about any one individual.

Ethnicity is most often related to nationality and cultural background, including people bound together by "real or imagined common origin," as Andrew Greeley says. David Danzig's theories began to point to the inseparable influences of religion and national origin, and he preferred the term "religio-ethnic" as more accurate. And Milton Gordon coined the word "ethclass" to take into account the close correlation of ethnicity and economic background.[2]

Otto Feinstein's experiences with ethnic communities and curriculum led him to this definition of "ethnicity":

> *Ethnicity means peoplehood, a sense of commonality or community derived from networks of family relations which have over a number of generations been the carriers of common experiences. Ethnicity, in short, means the culture of people and is thus critical for values, attitudes, perceptions, needs, mode of expression, behavior and identity.*

Of course ethnic background is not the only influence on an individual's traits and behavior, and we do not know all we need to know about the precise nature of its impact. But we do know that ethnic background does distinguish between people at the values and behavioral level whether or not they themselves identify consciously with that background.[3] In other words, one does not have to "feel ethnic" in order to have one's actions and ideas influenced by that ethnicity.

Identity

Like ethnicity, identity has both conscious and unconscious elements. Some theories about the formation of identity say we

are born with our essential personality directions; others say almost everything is learned from how important people in our lives react to us. In between is considerable variation of opinion around just what shapes identity and in what way. And the role of group influences on that identity—ethnic group, economic group, social group, or regional background—seems to be one of the least understood elements.

If we look at two of the important theorists of identity, we receive hints as to its dynamics: Erik Erikson, whose interest is in individual development; and Kurt Lewin, from social psychology. Erikson, looking back on his work in this field, says that the more he writes about identity, "the more the word becomes a term for something as unfathomable as it is all-pervasive."[4] He quotes Freud as referring to "obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words," when Freud talked about the influence of his own Jewish background. What Freud was sensing, in Erikson's view, was "a deep communality known only to those who shared in it, and only expressible in words more mythical than conceptual."

The language sounds more like mystery and poetry than science, and indeed, we know how uncooperative human beings are about fitting themselves into tight neat compartments of someone's theory. But Erikson does not leave his analysis at the level of intuition; he suggests just how important group background factors are in the total scheme of personal identity.

When he first used the term identity, Erikson says, he was referring to "a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity." In fact, he continues:

> *. . . We cannot separate personal growth and communal change, nor can we separate the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crises in historical development because the two help to define each other. . .*

Social psychology offers more help in how to look at group identity, especially if we look back at the significant work of Kurt Lewin. Introducing a collection of Lewin's work, Gordon Allport summarizes the unifying theme: "The group to which an individual belongs is the ground for his perceptions, his feelings, and his actions."[5]

Lewin does not go deeply into the actual mechanism through which a group influences those who are born into it.[6] But from

his years of working with individuals and groups, he is emphatically certain of the importance of groups in people's lives, and how many groups every individual is a part of.

> . . . *Every individual belongs to many overlapping groups: to his family, his friends, his professional or business group, and so on. He can be loyal to all of them without being thrown into a constant state of uncertainty.*
>
> *Not the* belonging to many groups *is the cause of the difficulty, but an* uncertainty *of belongingness.*

As Kurt Lewin looks at it, it is crucial that a person feel at home with his group affiliations: that he not, especially if he is a member of a minority ethnic group, undergo the experience of group self hatred. For people in many groups, avoiding this pitfall is difficult, since the institutions of the larger society (schools very definitely included) often act to discourage identification with ethnic background.[7] Not knowing which signals to follow, those of the "mainstream" society or those more "obscure emotional forces" of his own, the person can easily become confused and end up as what Lewin originally called a "marginal" person, feeling at home in neither setting rather than feeling comfortable in both.

> *Those marginal men and women* (Lewin says) *are in somewhat the same position as an adolescent who is no longer a child and certainly does not want to be a child any longer, but who knows at the same time that he is really not accepted as a grown-up. This uncertainty about the ground on which he stands and the group to which he belongs often makes the adolescent loud, restless, at once timid and aggressive, over-sensitive and tending to go to extremes, over-critical of others and himself.*

This analogy between someone with a marginal ethnic identity and an adolescent can be extended if we again look to Erik Erikson. He says all adolescents have certain problems to solve before their personalities become truly integrated and whole, and one of the main problems is the achievement of close relationships with others. It is not at all easy, Erikson says, for the adolescent to risk the still-fragile self that is in the making by offering it to others in relationships. Until a person is sure enough about

that identity—sure of "the ground on which he stands"—he or she will remain confused and unable to deal with others.

Many ethnic groups, white and non-white, are in different stages of questioning their own identities. Jews debate the "who is a Jew" issue. Chicanos discuss the difference between identifying as "Chicano" or "Mexican-American." Poles still consider name changes, and many other examples exist of such uncertainty. One result of the confusion is, as Lewin and Erikson predicted, aggressiveness about themselves and great uncertainties in relationships with others.

Perhaps, according to this model, it is important for those committed to improved intergroup relations to be concerned with more than racism and other prejudices. There is a need to respond more creatively to the question of "who am I?" It is difficult to demand an understanding of other groups' needs and perceptions without some understanding of "my own."

Many of us, even when we come to understand the slippery concept of "ethnic identity," fear that a focus on differences will backfire, will produce fragmentation rather than better intergroup feeling. If we go along with the Lewin-Erikson analysis, we see that it is the avoidance of differences, pretending they do not exist, that generates confusion and conflict. If we can help children learn that "different" does not need to imply "better" or "worse"—admittedly, an extremely difficult task to accomplish—then the schools will be helping to create a new and vital American pluralism.

In his book *Dominated Man*, Albert Memmi sees the avoidance of difference as common to the racist and what he calls the "sentimental anti-racist." The racist assigns value judgments to real or overblown group differences, and of course values his own group more highly. In Memmi's view, "We must come around to recognizing certain differences among human beings and to showing that these differences are neither harmful nor scandalous."[8]

Pluralism and differences are sometimes seen as obstacles to national or even global unity. "We are all human beings," some insist and, "that should be our only allegiance." Even Erikson, though recognizing the fundamental impact of ethnic communal forces, puts ethnicity in the category of a "pseudospecies" which prevents the development of "an all-inclusive human identity." But in another place he also says, "I would characterize as too wide the identity of a 'human being'. . ."

It should not be necessary to choose between a narrow allegiance only to one's own group and an overly diffuse "human" identity which does not meet the need for a "ground on which to stand." It should be possible to develop a balance of identities. Every individual must have the right (legal, of course, but also in terms of freedom from pressure) to choose his or her life directions without ethnic background as a limiting factor. But a parallel right to be strongly attached to one's ethnic group should also exist, without the negative characterization our society puts on such attachment through use of such value-laden words as "parochial" or "narrow." And finally, along with those two rights, there must be an obligation on the part of people from all ethnic groups to work toward national unity in which all groups can participate. In short, we need to create a new ethic for America, a *pluralistic ethic* which balances the needs of the individual, the group, and the total society.

SCHOOLS AND CULTURAL VARIATION

Only part of the schools' role in bringing about a new pluralism will be accomplished by the curriculum. Other aspects will be more related to the school's values, the subtle messages and signals it gives to different groups, and the way it creates a "fit," a synchronization, between the school culture and the various cultures children bring into the school.

Achievement and Learning

Looking at the history of ethnic groups' relationships to the public schools, some historians are beginning to find that the great myth of schools serving as "engines of upward mobility" has not been equally true for all ethnic groups. From studies of achievement in the early part of the century and a few studies of ethnic mobility, it looks like an ethnic group "made it" into the middle class and *then* saw its children do well.[9]

Even today, there are differences among white ethnic groups as to how frequently the young people go to college. Sometimes these differences are equally related to the group's still being lower middle or working class. But how many schools that have noncollege-bound students mixed in among the total student body make these students feel that they are as important and as valued as those off to campus life after high school graduation?

Usually quite the opposite is true—students in vocational tracks or who are just lower achievers are more often relegated to a category known as "greasers." For them, schools are not pluralistic settings, in which their different achievement or career objective—or even they themselves—are equally valued. Many students from working class ethnic backgrounds who do go to college go with the feeling that they do not belong there. As one teacher put it, "They feel they are not worth educating."[10]

So being of working class origins often adds another kind of personal marginality, another dimension of group self-hatred, which often comes on top of the student's uncertainty about his ethnic background. And if the student is a girl, she has that sex-related dimension of identity to deal with as well, giving schools an extremely difficult but therefore more essential job to do in helping toward meaningful personal development.

What we know from research about differential ethnic achievement is still mostly speculation. One study suggests that some ethnic groups' backgrounds lead to a predisposition toward certain forms of learning over others. At the same socio-economic level, for instance, Jewish and Black children did better on measures of verbal skill and Chinese on tests of space conceptualization.[11] This is not to say, as we have already pointed out, that any one individual child should ever automatically be assumed to have certain skills; only that on the average he or she may be more likely to be stronger in one area or another.

Just as important as not using such data (if they are eventually supported by more research) to pigeonhole any particular child is what we need to learn from these studies about our standards of achievement. Are they pluralistic enough so that we can evaluate a student strong in space concepts as equal to one who excels in verbal skills? Or have we set up something of a hierarchy of skills and overloaded our judgments to favor one kind of learning (favoring particular ethnic groups) over others? And if this is the case, are schools subtly communicating to different ethnic children a sense of their place in the hierarchy?[12]

We do not know precisely how valid the few studies of group learning patterns are, and we know even less about the reasons behind those differences. One factor that is speculated about is the child's self-esteem, or his or her sense of security about identity. Most of the studies in this area pick up from the pioneering work of Kenneth Clark in the mid-Sixties, but they principally focus on Black-white differences in self-esteem, not on the rela-

tionship between a secure identity and school performance or learning. One research project that did include a measure of school achievement found that among the white students low achievement and low self-esteem went together but the researchers did not ask which came first.[13] They assumed that self-esteem was lowered by low performance: but might it not be the other way around? There is probably much information in studies of Head Start experiences, and it is hoped that similar work will be done in a number of ethnic communities and schools.

Behavior Styles

Schools can communicate to a child his or her worthwhileness in many ways and through many symbols. Some are obvious—celebrations, food, posters, art work—but other "school symbolism" is less clear and perhaps even less available to conscious awareness.

The anthropological work of Fred Erickson contains fascinating clues as to how schools, as institutions of authority, can undermine self-concepts or promote them, through communications styles. His observations come from the perspective of Edward T. Hall[14] which includes such abstract terms as "kinesics" and more well-known ones such as "body language." Through watching the smallest units of behavior—walking, gestures, distancing or crowding close to others—Erickson concludes that ethnic background has a relationship to verbal and non-verbal communication styles. How much eye contact one needs to know another is listening, how often the other needs to say "uh huh" or "really?" to let us know he is still with the conversation, whether one looks an authority figure in the eye while being criticized, what kinds of gestures are appropriate, how much to touch another person—these seemingly automatic and often unconscious elements of communication, which according to Erickson vary with ethnic background, can make that communication suceed or fail. Would-be communicators, such as teachers and children, can be either "synchronized" with each other or "out of phase" and talking past each other.

Many of the specific culture-based characteristics are not yet uncovered by Erickson and others in this new field. But having questions to ask and a framework in which to observe, gives us a chance to redefine some of the possible inter-ethnic problems in a school. What might be expressed as behavior issues, preju-

dice, inattentiveness and unresponsiveness may, in reality, consist more of a conflict in communications styles, an unsynchronized pattern between two people. For instance, teachers from Northern European ethnic backgrounds may be uneasy when children from other backgrounds cluster very close together. "It always gives me the feeling they're about to start trouble," said one teacher. But for the children, this closeness may well be their own cultural pattern and if they are forced to sit quietly at tables a "safe" distance apart, their ability to learn may be impaired. These cultural influences, says Erickson, persist over many generations, after conscious ethnicity disappears.

The implications of this work, which needs further development, are that schools may need to tolerate many different behavior standards rather than insisting on just one. Communicating to children that their own patterns are acceptable, and at the same time maintaining basic ground rules that everyone can agree on no matter what their cultural background—that is the essential nature of a pluralistic system, and such a school setting would be a living example of a pluralistic society.

The schools' role in bringing about a "new pluralism" includes many noncurricular aspects. First, the need for effective ethnic role models represented by a diverse teaching and administrative staff should be recognized. Educators must be tolerant of the stormy emotional nature of group identity and allow for a commitment to choice of identities and group loyalties, which may well shift with events and pressures and needs. Allowance must be made not only for differences among and between ethnic groups, but also differences in career and educational objectives and achievement that may be related to social class and sex as well as to ethnic background. Educators must recognize the subtle signals that a school may inadvertently be giving to different groups through inadequate understanding of hidden aspects of difference and do something about this problem.

THE CURRICULUM AS PROMOTER OF PLURALISM

There are, of course, curriculum decisions that directly affect ethnic awareness, knowledge and identity. In the next section of this collection, Philip Rosen elaborates a number of possible approaches to this curriculum area, based on examples of work under way throughout the country. He looks at programs that relate to multiethnicity as well as to single group ethnic identity,

and his findings and suggestions emphasize a concern for the neglected area of white ethnic studies. The most important aspect of his paper is the variety of ways school leadership can look at what is generally called "ethnic studies."

Rosen's teaching experience in an ethnically mixed Philadelphia school has led him to pay particular attention to teaching strategies that go beyond an emphasis on ethnic heroes (even though such an emphasis may be one important element in a program). In stressing broader approaches, he is heeding warnings of Erik Erikson, who says:

> *Identity . . . contains a complementarity of past and future both in the individual and in society: it links the actuality of a living past with that of a promising future. Any romanticizing of the past or any salesmanship in the creation of future "postures" will not fill the bill.*

According to Rosen's framework, there are numerous questions to ask when we look at ethnic studies programs: What content is covered, both in terms of groups studied and approach used? Are courses separate or incorporated into existing curricula? Are they mini-courses or do they run throughout a semester or year? What is the balance of cognitive and affective, emotion-based learning?

In looking at groups covered by ethnic studies courses now being taught, Rosen finds most are mono-cultural, or single-group. Some take what he calls a "human relations," or anti-prejudice, approach. Others subsume ethnic studies under what really are bilingual programs, which may or may not include a bicultural component. And a few take the approach Rosen favors of cross-cultural, multiethnic content, that includes teaching concepts basic to an understanding of pluralism as well as conveying comparative data about various groups.

Different disciplines can be brought to bear on any one of these approaches. History is most commonly used, but there are also programs incorporating a psychological dimension, some that emphasize socio-economic and socio-political factors (usually including a study of group conflicts), and some that emphasize the strictly cultural level of ethnicity in the narrow meaning of the term (i.e., costumes, foods, music, art, etc.). Many courses consist of a combination of disciplines, especially those that are multiethnic.

Rosen discusses the advantages and disadvantages of structuring ethnic curriculum as a separate course, whether of long or short duration, as against a more integrative, incorporative strategy of curriculum building. The latter type of program might make ethnicity more "normal," less in the realm of the exotic, and could contribute toward adding substance and depth to existing courses even when few ethnic children are in the classroom. And this can be quite important in helping prepare all of our young people to live in a more honestly pluralistic America.

The degree to which ethnic studies courses contain cognitive material, whether in the traditional didactic teaching method or the newer inquiry-based methods, and how much they are oriented toward the affective, more emotion-related elements is the last dimension Rosen describes. He feels that affective considerations are quite important, and indeed if we look back to the discussion of Erikson and Lewin, we can see just how important they become. Such approaches do not have to replace content, but they can make content all the more exciting and meaningful to the child.

Rosen's discussion of these ideas is intended to help schools clarify their thinking around ethnic studies and group identity curriculum design, so that new programs do not become mere responses to political pressures, educational trends, or the availability of federal funds. For, as a recent statement by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education recognized, education for pluralism can strengthen the entire system. In part, their statement says:

> *Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. . . . Cultural pluralism is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts. . . . To accept cultural pluralism is to recognize that no group lives in a vacuum – that each group exists as part of an interrelated whole. . . . Schools and colleges must assure that their total educational process and educational content reflect a commitment to cultural pluralism.*[15]

The stated commitment of the teachers' colleges is heartening, since, as Philip Rosen concludes in his paper, teachers are often

inadequately prepared to deal with ethnic issues in curricular and noncurricular aspects of school life. But at least, as Rosen's listing of programs and resources indicates, each teacher and each school system does not have to start from the very beginning.

THE NEED FOR MORE RESOURCES: STATE PROGRAMS

Much new work in the field of group identity studies has been stimulated by the discussion and the passage of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1972. The enthusiasm and the scope of applicants for the first round of appropriations showed how ridiculously underfinanced the original Congressional appropriation of $2.5 million was. Nevertheless the passage of the Act catalyzed a great deal of new thinking and program planning. It would be a lost opportunity if this planning were allowed to stop just because the small first-year federal appropriation could not meet the scope of requests. Other resources must be found.

In our final section, we look at state Legislatures as potential sources of additional leadership and money in this area. We find that many states have statutes and policy statements that use language suggesting a multiethnic approach to pluralism, but that much of the implementation is limited to meeting (however inadequately) the complaints of the more vocal minorities. In two cases, Hawaii and California, the resolutions are inclusive enough to incorporate attention to working class concerns, trade unions, and women's activities along with a mandate for multiethnic education.

Most educational legislation stems from the state level, either in the form of required course content or allowable subject matter. Some states require teacher training in multiethnicity, some set standards for classroom materials, and others list those groups within the state whose histories are to be included in curricula. But only as educators and ethnic leaders have begun to press for specific state-level approaches to ethnic studies have bills been introduced to establish specific departments and/or allocate funds for program development.

There are many models for state activity in the group identity field, and the final section of this report concludes with a checklist of possibilities. The question of state support for ethnic studies programs, especially if they are conceived as broadly as the Hawaii and California laws, has potential as an excellent

coalition issue. White and non-white ethnic groups, educators, intergroup relations organizations, parents, researchers, union leaders, feminists, community resource institutions like museums and historical societies, even mental health professionals concerned over the enhancement of identity—all these groups can unite around a constructive role by state leadership in this area.

CONCLUSION

In the mid-Sixties, the American Jewish Committee published "The Shortchanged Children of Suburbia," a report on suburban schools' failure (or inability) to teach children about "human differences." Based on a research project by Dr. Alice Miel, then at Columbia Teachers College, "Shortchanged Children" concluded that America's youngsters were being taught a homogenized, artificial view of American life and American groups. One standard of behavior—"whether a person is clean and nice"—predominated, and even elementary information about Blacks was absent from the curriculum and the children's consciousness.

Since then, there have been significant changes and solid progress in some school systems. The currents of the late 1960s left few school systems untouched; new textbooks and supplementary materials have been published; new courses have been added to teachers' training. But how much these new approaches, designed to remedy Black and other non-white minorities' invisibility or distortion, "took" with the students—that is difficult to say. For many whites, especially those only a generation or two removed from a Southern or Eastern European background, the result of these programs was a question—"What about me?"

Ethnic, really multiethnic, ferment is now accepted as part of the 1970s social climate. Our cliches have changed; few people extol the melting pot terminology any more, even though many undoubtedly still wish it had worked. But now the difficult task is just beginning, especially in the schools. How do we go from a society where differences were ignored or even denied, to a nation aware of its diversity and its problems but not paralyzed by the complexity of either? How do we teach that "different" need not mean "better" or "worse?" How, in teaching, do we help define the nature of today's and tomorrow's new pluralism?

Strategies and Approaches to Ethnic Studies Curriculum Development

Much of the interest and excitement around ethnic studies programs was stimulated by Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which established a national Ethnic Heritage Studies Program. Proposed in 1970 by Representative Roman Pucinski of Chicago, revised in 1971 by Senator Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania, passed in 1972, funded in 1973 with an initial $2.5 million, it was finally implemented in 1974. In a dramatic display of interest, the U.S. Office of Education received nearly 9000 preliminary inquiries and 1000 completed applications on just a few weeks notice.

Early in 1972, between passage and appropriation of the Program, a section of the U.S. Office of Education investigated the status of ethnic studies throughout the country. Margaret Franck, of the Office of Special Concerns, contacted State Departments of Education and local school districts, gathering information on ethnic studies program legislation and implementation. This chapter grows out of the materials that came to Ms. Franck.

This paper will (1) offer different ways of looking at the broad and often misunderstood term, "ethnic studies," and (2) cite examples of the bibliographies, teachers' curriculum guides, supplements, manuals, student handbooks, and instructional materials on file in Washington, D.C., in late 1973. Too often such educational publications are limited to local use or just gather dust, while specialists and curriculum committees expend great effort, unaware of what has already been created.

WHAT GROUPS ARE "ETHNIC"?

School districts apply many meanings to the term "ethnic studies," and this confusion has lead to disjointed communication efforts. Some use the term as a substitute for Black Studies; others mean studies of traditional "out groups"—American Indians, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Orientals. Those that include white groups envision Catholics, Jews, and Eastern Europeans as ethnic groups open to study, while white Protestants are often just plain "Americans." Very few schools place every-

one in an ethnic group, conceptualizing ethnic studies as dealing with any Americans who identify with groups on the basis of race, religion, national origin, and combinations of these factors.

Single Group Studies

What has been produced by the various school systems throughout the nation depends on their original conceptualization. By far most of the efforts take a mono-cultural or single group approach, that is, studies of a large minority not ostensibly integrated into the dominant social group. "Minority" is defined as a handicapped group, suffering from prejudice or discrimination that prevents them from participating and sharing fully in the American mainstream. The choice of minority depends on the geographic area. In Washington, D.C., the guide for teachers deals with Blacks; Texas' publication treats Mexican-Americans; and Maine focuses on Franco-Americans; while Browning, Montana, relates to a single Indian tribe, the Blackfoot.*

Some schools systems use the term "multiethnic" to define the study of two or more "outgroups" treated separately within the same course. Little or no attempt is made, as the term "multiethnic" suggests, to discuss similarities and differences among ethnic groups and approach the topic from a comparative perspective.

Examples of this extended single-group aporoach include the interesting and little known data found in units on Mexican-Americans and Indians in Riverton, Wyoming. Rochester, Minnesota, offers junior high schools Indian and Afro-American folklore and culture. Oklahoma has compiled primary sources on Black and Indian history suitable for senior high school youngsters. Clark County, Nevada, offers a factual narrative guide for teachers and students at all grade levels on Blacks, Indians, Chicanos and Orientals.

Rationale for the focus on usually non-white "out groups" is that European immigrants, while often victims of prejudice and discrimination, have the advantage of being white. Thus European groups are said to have achieved a high degree of assimilation, while nonwhites continue to experience blocks.

* Names and addresses of school systems referred to in this chapter appear in the "Resources" section, p. 74

The advantages of a single group approach are that it deals thoroughly with a specific ethnic group that has historically been neglected and promotes pride among students of that background. But everyone outside the group is sometimes seen as a homogeneous mass, as one unified community, rather than plurally analyzed as clusters of subcommunities organized along ethnic or religio-ethnic lines.

In attempting to correct past distortions about the minority, single group materials tend to contradict almost automatically the conventional historical views on various topics. Since history has so often been written through the eyes of only some groups, this response often provides an important corrective. But it would be even more effective to teach the past as a matter of interpretive record, related to the "eye of the beholder," and only sometimes subject to "objective" empirical analysis.

Separate treatment of minorities from a mono-cultural focus risks becoming overly narrow and ethnocentric, too concerned with assigning blame. Good curriculum cannot afford either to be simplistic about the difficulties of a pluralistic society or, on the other hand, dishonest in its presentation of real responsibility for intergroup injustices. The progress that has been made need not be denied—in fact, it can engender hope in otherwise cynical young people—but neither can the long distance left to be traveled. Too cynical a view of minority life is neither totally honest nor fair to the existence of diversity within both minority and dominant groups.

Another single-group approach used by school systems examines groups outside the United States. Teaching cultural universals and/or developing an appreciation of the ethnic differences concept is the rationale accompanying these units. For instance, Atlanta teaches about the Basques in Spain and the Kpelle in Africa. Salina, Kansas, has a teacher's factual guide to Black Africa. In Stockton, California, pupil workbooks illustrate economic life in Ileito, the Philippines, and Japanese paper folding.

Studies of life in other lands are not ethnic studies, they are "world culture" or "international studies." Non-U.S. content as a component of ethnic studies might include material on immigrant groups' histori , before they came to America. It is advantageous to provide an international approach as used in Dade County, Florida, which offers its senior high students a comparative study of South African and Brazilian race relations. This type of comparative form is especially desirable when studying

single American ethnic groups as it helps students to see racial, religious, and national origins problems as common to nations containing heterogeneous populations.

Bilingual Programs

Bilingual education programs are variations of the monocultural single group approach. Though early programs were targeted chiefly toward children of Spanish descent, many school systems are discovering similar needs among Chinese, Italians, Greeks, Filipinos, and others. Under a bilingual approach, traditional skill subjects such as arithmetic, social studies and literature are taught in two languages, or only in the child's native tongue. This approach differs from the Teaching of English as a Second Language (TESL) strategy, which teaches most material in English and helps non-English speaking children to master English.

There is a considerable and growing body of experience and literature on bilingual education. The purpose of noting it here is twofold: first, some educators still confuse "ethnic studies" with bilingualism; and secondly, many bilingual programs are introducing the idea of biculturalism as well. In Massachusetts numerous districts have bilingual-bicultural programs for Portuguese and other children, and New York City's bilingual programs emphasize cultural background and identity development.

Anti-Prejudice Curricula

To many curriculum designers, ethnic studies denotes human or intergroup relations and has as primary objective the lessening of prejudice. Guides and teaching supplements include myths of prejudice, bigotry, and discrimination and the evils of stereotyping. Notable is Georgia's *Changing Culture, Book Two*, that employs anthropological data on race and culture to enhance understanding and sympathetic attitudes toward those who are different. Monthly bulletins in Freeport, New York, contain human interest articles bearing such titles as "Irish and Italo-American Stereotyping" and "Slurs in Advertising Against Mexican Americans," prepared by the experimental Racial Ethnic Action Project.

The anti-prejudice approach to inter-ethnic relations is a crucial educational goal and should have the highest priority. But it may diminish its effectiveness by substituting moral indignation

for cultural assessment of complex intergroup conflict and competition. Of course the grade level would determine the complexity of the presentation.

Too often, this kind of curriculum lends itself to what social researchers call the "influence of social desirability." Students know what are the "right" attitudes to express, making openness hard to come by and leaving ambivalence unexplored. Then, too, these programs often perpetuate the view that there are only two kinds of groups—a unified majority and left-out minorities. Such a view denies differences within the so-called majority, which students should also come to understand.

Finally, anti-prejudice programs sometimes become anti-difference courses, promoting concepts of universality which, though valid, do not leave room for positive group identity. Ideally, ethnic studies courses should help students understand that these two forces—unity and identity—can indeed coexist, but that it is difficult to work out such a balance. That would be the meaning of teaching about pluralism.

Multiethnic Studies

The cross-cultural, truly multiethnic concept of ethnic studies may be the most useful at this juncture of our nation's history. Milton Gordon, in his book, *Assimilation in American Life*, describes the American reality as one of "structural pluralism." Gordon points to "a considerable body of evidence which suggests that the various varieties of Americans . . . tend to remain within their own ethnic group for most of their primary group relationships." His view is of an America whose citizens after work are ethnically enclosed, compartmentalized by ethnic group in their marriage choices, dating patterns, friendship cliques, membership in social and charitable organizations, as well as religious life.[1]

If this is true, then multi-group approaches to ethnic studies should include the study of many groups on a comparative basis, investigating common problems and crucial differences. They should demonstrate such basic concepts as ethnicity, identity, discrimination, integration, assimilation, accommodation, amalgamation, acculturation, pluralism, marginality and others. This treatment includes the richness of cultural diversity, the role and contributions of both white and nonwhite cultural groups, and the expression of ethnicity in American life. Dade County,

Florida; Rochester, New York; Greenwich, Connecticut; and Kailua, Hawaii, come closest to this view. These programs are examined in detail in later sections.

WHAT DISCIPLINES ARE USED?

Whether an ethnic studies program is designed primarily around a single group, a bicultural concept, an anti-prejudice strategy or a comparative multiethnic perspective, there are many ways in which it can be organized. One question involves the social science and/or humanities disciplinary approach to the topic.

History

A majority of school systems appear to use an historical approach to ethnic data. This has the advantage of placing the group's experience in perspective, seeing the evolution of its culture, and explaining present conditions by relating to the past. As a discipline, history can be truly integrative and interdisciplinary, for it deals with politics, economics, anthropology, and sociology in a time dimension.

The historical approaches in most elementary and secondary curricula include a large "contributions" component, where accomplishments of various groups and individual ethnic heroes (not too many heroines) are related. By stressing contributions, curriculum writers hope to generate self pride among students studying their own ethnic groups, and to promote respect on the part of non-members taking the course.

Unfortunately, much ethnic studies material dwells too long on the past. Knowledge of the past is important, even crucial, but students, as members of the "now" generation, find the present intrinsically more interesting. To make history-based ethnic studies more vital, past must be connected to present. In some classrooms, family histories form the basis for ethnic group history, or even for a study of a city or state's past.

Local history can be meaningful, for what is close to the student is best understood. Some school districts have packaged regional historical information not found elsewhere. The Uintah (Utah) School District developed a Ute history book for high school students on the Uintah and Ouray Reservations. The District of Columbia provides its pupils with little known information about Blacks in the upper South in "Pioneers and Planters." The Corn

State relates the story of "Kansas Negro Regiments" and "Black Coal Miners of Southeast Kansas." Laredo, Texas, focuses on "The Spanish and Mexican Influence in the Cultural Development of The Southwest." Jack Forbes of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (California) calls his historical narrative about Indians "The Native American in California and Nevada."

This writer found two excellent publications dealing with an ethnic group on a national basis. Kentucky provides teachers with past-present connections about Blacks in its "Contributions of the Negro." Illinois has documentary and interpretive data that may be easily duplicated for high school students on "The Role and Contributions of American Negroes in the History of The United States and of Illinois." Blacks, neglected and negatively stereotyped for so long, are beginning to have their message heard, and a more realistic and positive approach to their history is being presented. The horrors of American racism and the Black drive for freedom, justice, and identity have tended to receive a major share of the attention in ethnic studies programs. Other groups are now legitimately calling for attention.

This need not mean a chunk of ethnic history for every group; indeed, schools would have a hard time teaching anything but history if they took such an approach. It does mean that multiethnic experiences be included in general history courses and texts, and that teachers become flexible and sensitive enough to offer assignments that relate students to their own ethnic backgrounds. For instance, teachers have begun to report on students' intense excitement at being assigned family and neighborhood history projects.

This type of program will enrich any history course and will not burden teachers and curriculum planners with the required ritual of prescribing a series of ethnic heroes, giving equal time regardless of historical accuracy. It would also prevent interethnic comparisons of contributions and minimize the risk that an ethnic group will feel accepted and legitimate only to the extent that its forebears contained a high proportion of individuals whose achievements have been outstanding.

Psychology

The psychological dimension is often explored in the human relations approach, attempting to develop a youngster's sense of

identity and build positive self concepts. The program content points out the beauty of ethnic diversity and the positive values in each ethnic culture.

One approach is to identify universal human psychological needs and then look at ethnic customs that meet these needs in different ways. Rochester, New York, calls its efforts in pluralist education "Project Beacon." They prepared a collection of readings and exercises employing a psychological approach entitled, "Reading to Improve the Self Concept." This teaching guide recommends stories from many ethnic experiences to illustrate character traits. For example, a story about Frederick Douglas tells how an individual sets personal goals that he strives to keep. The elementary-level guide provides teachers' plans to challenge children's creative talents particularly in written expression and in arts and crafts. By using biographies of many ethnic group members, this effort implicitly says that even though there are ethnic differences, there are also cultural universals.

Ethnic studies should deal with differences, but should not be so centered on the hyphen part as to lose sight of people's common aspirations for a better life. The psychological treatment is especially valid for elementary pupils struggling to develop identity and too unsophisticated to cope with inter-ethnic conflict. It offers the opportunity to develop the twin goals of ethnic studies—a better understanding of one's own group and a warmer feeling towards members of other groups.

Sociology and Economics

The socio-economic treatment is "present" centered. It deals with expressions of ethnicity in neighborhoods, organizational life, the business and occupational world, and politics. Materials produced for elementary and secondary school students too often tend to ignore this aspect. When ethnicity is mentioned in connection with economics it is generally on the basis of race. (One wonders if young Blacks are being helped or hindered by an emphasis only on their relative poverty. While successful models of Blacks who have achieved economic success should not be allowed to distort the economic deprivation of the group, the absence of those models also creates a problem.) The fact that other ethnic groups have a political-economic dimension—e.g., Italians in truck farming, Irish in certain unions, Jews in small business, Protestants in heavy industry—remains hidden.[2]

San Diego schools believe politics a fertile area for ethnic studies. This city produced "The Political Process in the Black Community," an anthology of clippings from Black-oriented magazines and newspapers ranging in content from Black Power, civil rights gains and profiles of Black politicians to problems within the Black community. San Diego's "Chicano Studies" is a collection of readings on political movements within the Mexican-American community. Similarly, any city's newspapers and magazines, both the general and the ethnic press, can serve as an "instant curriculum."

New York City's "Resource Bulletin in Ethnic Pluralism" includes reprints from popular newspapers and magazines dealing with ethnicity in general and with specific groups as they express themselves in neighborhoods, social institutions and politics. These accounts are more readable and interesting for high school students than textbooks, and they are the kinds of materials used by voting citizens to inform themselves on issues.

Dade County (Florida) has prepared "The People of Dade County," a curriculum guide for grades seven through nine. This effort focuses on interaction among Cubans, Blacks, Jews, and white Protestants. The publication examines "minorities: discriminated against, yet slowly entering the mainstream of American life." Such a formulation has important implications for the future of ethnic studies. Courses should include problems of ethnic group members in lower income brackets, but should not stress only negative aspects. Small victories and uneven advances require attention, both for the sake of honesty and to impart a sense of possibility rather than total cynicism.

Humanities

Examination of ethnic cultures and life styles is important for understanding America's pluralistic society. Folkfairs with their colorful historical costumes, exotic foods, and traditional music have opened children's eyes, noses, and ears to our nation of immigrants. More is needed, with additional subtleties injected into this approach.

It is patently incorrect to say no "melting" has occurred among early immigrants and their children. Most Americans, regardless of background, share a common core culture. Most third generation Americans cannot read or speak the "old country" language, nor are they likely to dress in traditional costumes. Religious

customs are still followed but not in their most orthodox form.

Much of "American" culture is made up of contributions from many ethnic groups. For instance, American literature, since the founding of the Republic, has benefited from ethnic writers and is not solely "Yankee."[3] In the arts, many fine creators and performers blend their artistic and cultural universals with their particular ethnic communal background.

Subtle differences in mannerisms, lifestyle, world outlook, attitudes, values, and behavior remain after customs and costumes grow worn. Jews, for example, retain a respect and passion for formal education. Italians have strong attachments to "old neighborhoods." German-American young men gravitate towards careers in the hard sciences. Examined in books such as *The Decline of the WASP* by Peter Schrag, Glazer and Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Andrew Greeley's *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, and Michael Novak's *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, these subtle differences have yet to find their way into print for public school students.

A number of local programs have strong cultural and humanities components. Carnegie, Oklahoma, developed both a fifth grade and high school course on the history and culture of the Southern Plains Indians. Accompanying the texts are a descriptive guide and over 1200 slides depicting each tribe's "lifeways, legends, industries and subsistence techniques."

East Baton Rouge, Louisiana, explores local culture. Their resource guide, "The Cultural Heritage of East Baton Rouge," is designed for teacher use as part of the eighth grade social studies course. Dealing mainly with Franco-Americans, Blacks, and Indians, the guide stresses culture as meeting similar needs of all people and building the basic dignity of man. It employs such cultural factors as art, literature, and language, recognizing the importance of ethnic survival through those mechanisms.

Rochester, New York, has composed student booklets on a number of ethnic groups. These booklets contain a large cultural component of language, customs, games, songs, riddles, recipes, and folktales about Blacks, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Japanese, Irish, Germans, Italians, Poles, and Jews. The student booklets are written on three levels: kindergarten and first grade; grades two and three; and grades four through six. The materials correlate with language arts, physical education, science and health, mathematics, and fine arts, as well as social studies, so that teachers may use portions during the entire school day.

The Rochester program is one of the few that includes white groups in ethnic studies and its treatment of Jews as a people, not merely a religious group, is rare. "The Jews are also a cultural group," states the introduction, "a people linked together by a common history, prayers, literature, customs and a feeling of oneness." Yiddish words comprise the language section since that tongue was most commonly used by emigrating Jews.

The question of dual loyalty, the old bone that so many still love to gnaw upon, is deftly handled through interethnic comparison: "American Jews watch the development of Israel with much interest. They give aid and have a strong loyalty to it, just as the Irish, Germans, Italians, and Polish people have a strong love for the land of their fathers. But like all Americans, the Jews will be loyal to America, their home."

One danger in emphasizing the old world culture of immigrant groups, as Rochester does, is that young people may become confused as to the true nature and character of ethnic groups today. Differences within a group need to be explained, including the various levels of practices in a given ethnic community and generational differences in the importance attached to culture.

Multi-Disciplinary

Educators seeking to introduce ethnic studies in elementary classrooms could start by supplying teachers with the Rochester material or the teachers' guide for Clark County (Las Vegas). This Nevada "Social Science Study Unit" contains an elementary school program model. Cross-cultural and cross disciplinary, it offers youngsters a positive self concept, insightful views of other groups, and a developmental social sciences program following traditional themes (i.e., this guide plugs in ethnicity to teach about the self, the home and parents, the immediate neighborhood, the larger community, the region, the state, and the nation). Material utilizes songs, games, biography, and other components. While it limits its definition of ethnicity as applied only to nonwhites, the ideas employed in the first three grades apply to all ethnic groups.

"Ethnic Studies, High School," the secondary Clark County guide, is also commendable. This cross disciplinary program aims at understanding the total experience of four ethnic groups (Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and Orientals) through a study of histories, cultural contributions, and literature written by mem-

bers of these groups. In portraying intra-group generational, class, and religious differences, it addresses everyday problems of real people and does not merely concentrate on heroes and cultural contributions.

The guide's method of dealing with the homelands of various immigrant minorities is worthy of imitation. The stress is on positive aspects of life in the motherlands, revealing those nations' histories and contributions, and avoiding the usual condescending textbook tone in discussing immigration and the conditions the immigrants "escaped" from.

One multi-disciplinary program, the Multi-Culture Institute, has several unique and exciting elements. Founded as a private school in San Francisco, it deliberately organized students in homogeneous ethnic classes for part of their day and in mixed groups at other times. The stress on various aspects of ethnicity—language, customs, history, local politics—is designed to foster appreciation of both one's own and other groups. From the original experiment, models have been developed for adaptation in different types of school settings and grade levels.

COURSE STRUCTURE AND TEACHING TECHNIQUES

Much work in education, in both research and practice, attempts to discern the best ways of introducing new subject matter. Levels, durations, and conceptual approaches to subject matter are constantly being refined, thus giving us terms like "New Math," "PSSC Physics," and, most recently, "New Social Studies." In the ethnic studies area, too, questions of structure and techniques need to be looked at in conjunction with issues of content and disciplinary viewpoint.

Separate or Integrative?

Basically, there are two approaches to teaching about ethnic pluralism: the separate course, in the form of a unit, elective, or mini-course; or the incorporative approach. A separate approach is based in a self-contained body of knowledge about one or more ethnic groups. An integrative strategy injects ethnic-related subject matter into established curricula.

A separate course in ethnic studies has several advantages. It provides a visibility for the field that is very important in legiti-

mating it educationally. After so many ethnic experiences of absence and invisibility, there is some suspicion and skepticism over a curriculum that only allows for including ethnic dimensions and does not require it. Many ethnic studies activists argue against leaving the decision to include ethnic content in the overall curriculum to the individual teacher, pointing out that these very teachers have perpetuated the neglect that new ethnic studies courses are designed to remedy.

A separate course can cause political problems if it signals an overemphasis on one group or another, or if it suggests that a school is merely reacting to group pressure. If "ethnic studies" are separate, teachers in other courses may not feel the need for their classes to contain pluralistic content. Also, since many teachers are sensitive to charges of "educational fads," they may be more receptive toward an approach that does not require a restructuring of curriculum but rather calls for additional content in existing work.

Examples of separate curricula, mainly from the historical perspective, have been cited. Examples of incorporative approaches are coming to light. Acknowledging that textbooks tend to dominate the schools' curriculum, Ohio has supplementary materials integrating Black history into Tod and Curti's, *Rise of the American Nation*. Similarly, Peoria, Illinois, provides content on the Black experience to incorporate with Wade, Wilder and Wade's *A History of the United States*.

San Diego's "Role of The Mexican-American" demonstrates a practical method for incorporating Mexican-American experiences into history courses. The technique provides teachers with handouts that can be duplicated for students, including graphics and readings focusing on Mexican-American immigration for use as part of a larger immigration unit. In implementing ethnic studies, it is usually more effective to provide teachers with material for student use rather than presenting lesson plans and outlines that leave them the problem of finding suitable references for their classes.

A number of school systems seek to incorporate America's non-whites into existing American history courses, but Kentucky's curriculum guide goes further. Conventionally entitled, "Contributions of The Negro," it does outline content and activities that integrate Blacks into American history. But it also offers suggestions to incorporate *all* ethnic groups into economics, sociology, world culture, civics, geography, psychology,

English, speech, journalism, foreign language, mathematics, science, music, art, industrial arts, home economics, and even health and physical education. The authors of this guide have a grasp of the many facets of ethnicity and of how ethnic solidarity, interests, and consciousness can be expressed in non-ethnic terms or through other institutionalized forms. Kentucky's efforts supply an excellent conceptual approach that can be adapted for white ethnic groups in the many areas of the school curriculum.

Duration of Courses

Mini-courses, micro-units, and short term electives are excellent ways for students to discover the pluralistic nature of our society. Yearlong studies may lead to weariness and diminished interest among youngsters. Although many different aspects of a subject can be dealt with in depth, students complain that they are studying "the same thing all the time." This writer's experience is that youngsters do best at "short distance running"—short courses in different areas. This adds an element of newness and a fresh start, thus student interest and motivation are recharged.

In these days of individualization and greater freedom for students, presenting many options in course design is probably wise. This means "chopping up" various aspects of the pluralistic experience into self-contained bodies of knowledge. A few lessons around a theme (e.g., immigrants at work) would constitute a micro-unit; more lessons around a larger theme (e.g., images of ethnic groups in 20th century literature would comprise a mini-course; and a course that takes a large fraction of the school year (e.g., multiethnicity in American cities) would make a short-term elective.

Dade County (Florida) has prepared outstanding curriculum guides on diverse facets of ethnic studies. These guides are geared to a school year divided into five parts (short distance running) so that one or more of these electives may be chosen by the student. The titles suggest a grasp of the dimensions of the field: "Black History and Culture" (grades 7-9), "Prejudice in America" (grades 7-12), "Minorities in American Society" (grades 7-12), "A Nation of Immigrants" (grades 10-12), "Race Relations Around The World" (grades 10-12), "The People of Dade County" (grades 7-9), "American Indian" (grades 7-9), and "Economics of Poverty" (grades 9-12).

Use of the "Inquiry" Method

Many of the materials referred to concentrate on the cognitive. They consist primarily of facts, data, knowledge, understandings, and concepts presented in a narrative expository form. The information received by the students includes generalizations, interpretations and reasoned conclusions developed by the authors and lends itself to learning by memorizing this predigested material.

In this sense, many ethnic studies materials remain out of tune with some recent thinking in teaching-learning theory. That thinking suggests that the best learning occurs when students actively engage in intellectual interaction with information to produce something beyond that information itself. True learning, according to this view, means finding out, seeing for oneself, discovering. The best teaching for such goals involves putting students into situations requiring them to develop these "finding out" intellectual skills. This type of teaching uses the inquiry method—the process of hypothesizing, testing hypotheses, and drawing conclusions.

Materials in the ethnic area have been developed around these methodological concepts. For instance, Georgia's State Department of Education collaborated with the Atlanta School System to publish two textbooks entitled, *Changing Culture*. Containing data on ethnic groups, particularly in the area of conflict, these books emphasize inquiry on the part of students. Young Georgians concern themselves with issues such as "Georgians versus Indians" and "What are the myths and realities of plantation life?" Thus, students can view history as a controversial record of the past. At the same time, they learn to see current conflicts in a framework where any one version of a debate needs critical evaluation.

Fact-oriented publications, such as the resource book on "Black History in Oklahoma" compiled by Oklahoma City Public Schools, could easily be utilized for inquiry teaching with a good teachers' guide. The Oklahoma book contains carefully selected, highly readable primary source documents related to the Black and Indian experiences, revealing little-known relationships between these two groups and their interactions with whites. Such a resource could be used to "show history" or, with supplementary

teachers' suggestions, could generate discoveries about inter-minority conflicts applicable to contemporary as well as historical situations.

Educational research suggests that students become confused when working with masses of information not attached to conceptual handles. Concepts organize information, make facts more meaningful and generate critical questions. The more data provided for the development and understanding of concepts, the greater the likelihood that learners will internalize these concepts and apply them to new experiences outside of class. An up-to-date curriculum would provide inquiry experiences in which selected concepts are used repeatedly, each time with new data and increasing degrees of refinement.

School systems have produced individual learning packets employing conceptual-inquiry principles. These packets enable the learner to choose from a number of topics, dwell on certain aspects, and decide how deep he or she wishes to go. The guided program suggests audio-visual aids, books and periodicals, and other resources inside and outside the school to aid the student in accomplishing the chosen objectives. Providing structure and background to direct student learning, these packets are representative of the best works produced in the ethnic studies area.

The individual learning packets of Kaihua High School include the elements of diagnostic testing. Three booklets, "Immigration," "Minority Groups," and "Hawaii: A Case Study," demonstrate techniques to teach about ethnic groups' interaction. The approach to controversial historical situations is fair, many-sided and open-ended, and permits the reader to draw independent conclusions. Students are given a choice of activities with directed study questions. The exercises and activities are arranged under conceptual handles such as assimilation, cultural diffusion, competition, conflict, tolerance, and pluralism. The Teaching Manual differentiates assignments for the able, average, and less able students. It also contains a number of student handouts that plug into any unit dealing with pluralism or ethnic issues. There are readings from popular newspapers, magazines, and books, as well as guide sheets on how to make reports employing problem-solving techniques. The bibliographies include books and periodicals, audio-visual aids, and community resources.

A program in Greenwich, Connecticut, parallels Hawaii's in structure and content. Its "Minority Report" is used in grades 10-12, while its "Migration-Immigration" unit is designed for eighth graders. As in Hawaii, there are student packets and a

teacher's handbook. Data are arranged around large concepts and suggested activities encourage high level thought processes. These individual learning packets can easily be utilized with either a whole class or part of a class. Teachers can be eclectic, plugging into certain lessons in the traditional curricula.

Attitudes and Feelings

In discussing ethnic studies content approaches, we have implicitly and explicitly suggested certain attitude outcomes as desirable or undesirable. To summarize them:

> *A balanced view of the activities and motivations of various groups should be understood, including their prejudices as well as their legitimate interests. Both the successes and the failures of democratic processes need to be accepted, as opposed to a view of America and its institutions as unredeemable. It may at times be difficult to counter youngsters' feelings of alienation and hopelessness, but it is important for students to develop a commitment to social change as well as understanding how difficult it can be to achieve.*
>
> *Ethnic content should be honest about differences while emphasizing common problems, common humanity, and aspirations for a better life by all groups. This will help students understand that differences do not mean inferiority.*
>
> *Problems, conflict, and competition need to be presented as part of the human condition, whose resolution is a task for the future. This will help prevent youngsters' polarizing around their own groups, and can minimize the hostility that might be generated by simplistic slogans focusing exclusively on oppression.*
>
> *Emphasis should be on defining and achieving social justice, on conflict resolution, and on processes whereby we can live in a unified society without any group surrendering its uniqueness. Sophisticated lessons on the senior high school level may illustrate group interests and unmelted cultural aspects, yet help students recognize a common core culture.*

These values and attitudes and others concerning family, neighborhood and political life, are not guaranteed results of ethnic studies programs. They can be anticipated, though, if attention is given to the affective domain of learning and teach-

ing. So far, this attention is lacking and there are few connections between teaching theory in this field generally and the specific applications to ethnic studies.

"Affective" education relates to feelings, attitudes, interests and values. Lessons in this area need to be planned as carefully as those concerned with thinking, knowledge and understanding, i.e., the cognitive domain. The *raison d'etre* of ethnic studies lies in the affective domain, for such studies aim to help young people understand themselves and their heritage and develop an appreciation for their neighbors' similarities and differences.

The affective dimension, while recognized, is often underprogrammed. Introductory comments in ethnic studies publications correctly state as among their objectives a "better self concept" and "building pride," and are designed to make students aware of cultural richness, the contributions of various groups and the multiethnic sources of American customs. This stress on immigrant and ethnic contributions might indeed have the effect of building pride; however it is necessary to consciously plan and evaluate this objective.[4]

An affective approach to ethnic studies offers the opportunity for value clarification. This teaching technique, familiar to many educators, involves a stress on the students looking at their own opinions without being told what is the "correct" position. Questionnaires are sometimes used to help raise issues which really have no formula answers; for instance, "Should student clubs be allowed to keep their membership to one ethnic group?" or "Should a highway that the whole city needs be allowed to split an ethnic neighborhood in half?"

Adding this value dimension to curriculum is difficult for many students and teachers alike, since stress is so often still placed on authority and answers. As yet, it is still too often neglected in designing ethnic curricula. Yet students make many decisions that have an ethnic dimension, such as choice of friends, mate, neighborhood, fraternal organizations, political parties, candidates, and positions on public issues. To make such decisions, young people must have a clear personal value system. A person's ethnic background, where many values originate, influences reactions to people and problems. If students understood the cultural base of value perceptions, perhaps they would think less in mutually exclusive moral absolutes and avoid overly rigid definitions of right and wrong.[5]

It is important that we learn to evaluate achievement in the affective domain. In Maine, a test has been developed to measure Indian and non-Indian children's attitudes toward Indians; Hawaii administers a social distance scale that indicates acceptance and rejection attitudes toward various ethnic groups. But we need better techniques to determine if programs meet their stated objectives of building better self images and lessening prejudice.

TEACHER TRAINING

An important key to effective (as well as good affective) ethnic studies is teacher training. Many teachers still have an oversimplified view of America as a melting pot. Their early experiences taught that America is a nation of individuals, not groups, and that the children of immigrants would shed their heritage and blend into the dominant American society. Indeed, many present-day teachers were taught that their own success would depend on their ability to "be American." Ethnic identification was implicitly looked down upon as a form of tribalism, an anomaly soon to wither away.

If teachers feel negative toward manifestations of ethnicity, and are uncomfortable with conflicts and differences, then the aims of ethnic studies programs will be unintentionally subverted, if they are implemented at all. Thus, the affective component is crucial in any program of teacher training, both to help teachers crystallize their own attitudes and values and to provide them with classroom model techniques.

Cognitive elements are also essential for the in-service or pre-service curriculum. Teachers need to understand the richness of American cultural diversity; the achievements of many ethnic individuals and groups; the multiethnic sources of American customs; inter-ethnic conflicts, past and present, how they arose and how they were resolved or left to fester; the recognition of cultural conflict as a reality of our history and its resolution as a necessity of our future.

An on-going teacher training program in ethnic studies should include readings in the field, guest lecturers, and techniques of examining ethnic communities. The local area can be a laboratory for research. In fact, each teacher-participant could prepare student material on an aspect of ethnic studies with accompanying lesson plans.

Teacher teams could gather information on the many aspects of ethnic community life to create a curriculum specific to the particular city or neighborhood.

A. Location of ethnic neighborhoods, demographic data

B. Ethnic fraternal organizations, their histories and activities

C. Ethnic churches and church-related organizations

D. Ethnic newspapers, foreign language and English

E. Self-help and mutual aid associations

F. Educational institutions and educational concerns

G. Work and occupational patterns and ethnic businesses

H. Politics—ethnic issues, leaders, party representation and preferences

I. Lifestyle—family life, roles of different family members, recreational activities, religious customs

A few school districts have developed material relating to teacher training. Ogden City (Utah), in conjunction with Weber State College, attempted to sensitize teachers to their own feelings about their identity, ethnicity and the ethnicity of others.

In New York City, the Office of Intergroup Education revised its Human Relations in-service training program from one based on a Black-white model to one that focused on New York's six major ethnic groups: Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Irish, Italians, Jews and Chinese. A film was made about each group, half historical and half a contemporary comment by an ethnic activist. A summary film, with excerpts from each ethnic interview, showed very dramatically how common themes were shared by all groups. A manual for using the films, developed by the National Project on Ethnic America, contains cognitive and affective discussion questions keyed to the films and material related to various key concepts.

The Detroit school system has gone further than others in training a cadre of ethnic specialists. Working with Wayne State University, participants in training programs read learned journals and dissertations about groups in the area, visited ethnically-related places, and spoke with ethnic leaders and typical residents. A directory describing ethnic resources in the metropolitan

area was compiled and a unique oral history project was begun, to provide valuable material on the immigrant experience through a store of taped data.

Introducing well-designed multiethnic training programs may sometimes be difficult, especially if teachers have already been exposed to models of intergroup education that stressed "correct" postures rather than a more open approach. A model that starts with the teachers' own ethnic backgrounds, feelings, and experiences—and accepts the ambivalence and confusion that surround them—seems to offer more possibilities for insight. Conceptual information also needs to find its way into training programs, including an updating as to our definitions and ideas about ethnicity and pluralism. As we have already suggested in discussing curriculum for students, analyses of ethnic power and interests have as much to do with "ethnic studies" as do history and cultural patterns. In many school systems, ethnicity acts as an organizing force for teachers, and a teacher training program might have a built-in case study if it looked at this phenomenon.

One way for a school system to begin the training process is to ask itself the general question, "How pluralistic is our school? How much do we program for diversity and group identity?" Many ongoing activities will probably be discovered and other ideas will be generated out of teachers' and students' own needs and experiences.

CONCLUSION

There are many ways school administrations, teachers, and curriculum developers interpret "ethnic studies." Most of the materials reviewed were extensions of traditional education methods. Yet, as the examples suggest, the area of ethnic studies offers many possibilities for innovation that go beyond adding textual content or new individual-learning packets.

Ethnic studies are not only for ethnic groups. As we have said, there are many needs for sensitivity, self-understanding and a better grasp of the complexities of American reality among *all* children. Similar needs exist among teachers, who are once again asked to help alleviate some of society's problems through their classroom activities.

Publishers are beginning to shape materials more along truly multiethnic, pluralistic lines. One company, for instance (Education Design, Inc. of New York), has produced a multiethnic

package using sound filmstrips and tape cassettes which cover 19 of America's major ethnic groups. Entitled, "Ethnic Studies: The Peoples of America," it combines concepts of ethnicity with history and culture, and adds a personal dimension through dramatizations of documents such as diaries and letters.

At the same time that this and other carefully thought-out materials are being produced, inevitably, a few are taking advantage of the new market and promoting what has been called "ethnic junk." Evaluating published work thus becomes a crucial task. A monograph developed by the Detroit-Wayne State group sets forth an approach to such evaluation.[6]

One purpose of this paper is to point to useful examples so that each school or system does not feel compelled to "reinvent the wheel." New materials will be developed out of the first round of Ethnic Heritage Studies Program grants. Much can come from students, their own parents and grandparents, and the popular press. Television programs and movies can be used to generate discussions of ethnicity, stereotypes, and prejudice.

In short, new curricula in ethnic studies, or adding an ethnic dimension to existing curricula, need not be difficult. Some ask if such effort is worthwhile. Of course it is, for it can result in humanizing school systems, sharpening perceptions of reality, broadening children's and teachers' sensitivities to themselves and others, and reducing suspicion and distrust. Done well, ethnic studies can help lead us toward a truly pluralistic America.

State Support for New Programs

The interest and action generated by the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act were both unexpected and formidable, as John Carpenter indicates in his Foreword to this publication. The grant proposals submitted totally outran the federal government's ability to respond. In fact, the entire process of passing and funding the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program demonstrated the powerful impact that legislation can have in galvanizing a movement and quickly upgrading the level and quantity of its participants.

The history of the Ethnic Heritage Studies legislation suggests that similar excitement and programming could be stimulated by looking to the states as influences on schools. State legislation and the policies of state education departments in many cases have an influential impact on local school systems, and some state-level action has already been taken to promote ethnic studies.

This chapter, after a brief review of the federal Act's legislative history, examines the different ways states have, or could, enter into ethnic studies and group identity programs. It is based on a survey done in late 1972 and early 1973 by Nancy Seifer of the National Project on Ethnic America. It also includes suggested state approaches that are not yet being implemented and concludes with a checklist of possibilities.

Legislative History of Ethnic Heritage Studies

In November 1969, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act was introduced in Congress by Representative Roman Pucinski, Chicago Democrat, as an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.* The Centers Rep. Pucinski proposed would develop ethnic curriculum materials and train teachers to use them effectively. In opening hearings on the Bill in February 1970, Rep. Pucinski spoke about "a growing sense of sameness permeating our existence," and about young people's "restless,

* The text of the final Act appears in the Appendix.

sometimes tumultuous, and often threatening search for identity." He referred to the Bill's twofold purpose: of providing opportunities for the study both of one's own group background and of the multiethnic composition of our society as a whole.

A similar bill was introduced in the Senate in January 1971 by Senator Richard Schweiker, Republican of Pennsylvania. He was to take on primary leadership in this area after Rep. Pucinski lost the race for Illinois Senator in 1970. Echoing the theme of the "search for identity," Sen. Schweiker said:

> *We now see many Americans in a fluid state, with few community ties, and a lack of any firm roots to provide stability for their lives. What was seen as an opportunity for unlimited growth has instead resulted in insecurity and a loss of the important values of community, identity, tradition, and family solidarity.*

Through the process of hearings and revisions, the Schweiker Bill changed the operational emphasis from ethnic studies "centers" to "programs," in order to avoid excessive segmentation and bureaucracy. One of the Congressional committees that considered the Bill stated in its approving report that it was trying to remedy an over-reliance on the "melting pot" theory. "The only problem with that theory," the Committee report said,

> *is that it didn't happen that way in the past and it isn't happening that way now. But we are paying now for its past and present influence in American life by a feeling of alienation from society felt by many of its citizens and by a mood of intolerance of any diversity in our society.*

Once again the Committee emphasized the dual nature of the Act's objectives, the fostering of "both a greater sense of personal identity and a greater tolerance among the various groups."

The Senate Committee report took up the question of the definition of "ethnic" for purposes of program grants. They made it clear that "Mexican, Indian, Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, and other groups of people sharing a common history, identity, culture, or experience in America, are meant to be included as well as the various European immigrant groups more commonly referred to in the term 'ethnic group.'" They went on to say:

A definition (of ethnic group) provided by one witness at the hearings provides an example of the breadth of interpretation to be given to the concept of ethnic groups and ethnic studies: "Ethnic groups would mean nationality, cultural, historical, racial, or groups whose members define themselves as people claiming historic peoplehood."[1]

The Senate Committee recognized that any attempt to define ethnicity in the statute "runs the risk of unintentioned exclusion," and they followed advice of those who recommended broad guidelines as the best approach. When the program was finally funded and application guidelines written, the question of definition was not specifically dealt with, but the examples listed in the guidelines were of Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Blacks, etc.

Because the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act was only one section of a long and involved piece of education legislation that required a lengthy House-Senate conference committee deliberation, it was not passed until May 1972. On the first round of education appropriations, no funds were included for the new ethnic program (even with 1972 elections yet to be held and both parties' campaigns highly interested in ethnic support). Not until December 1973, and only after considerable activity from ethnic communities throughout the country, were any funds appropriated, and then only $2.5 million. (Rep. Pucinski's original request had been for $30 million for two years, and the Bill that finally passed had authorized $15 million for one year.)

These first funds, Sen. Schweiker pointed out, "must be considered 'start-up' money," and the Senator asked for and received Congressional extension of the Ethnic Studies Program for four years. Funds for the next fiscal year (July 1974 - June 1975) have, at this writing, not yet been appropriated.

This outline of the legislative history, read along with the hearings held by the House and Senate Education Subcommittees,[2] shows how the introduction of legislation can unite a number of groups around an issue. It also demonstrates the impact on public opinion and values of the kind of debates that accompany consideration of a new law.

Possibilities for Statewide Coalitions

As Dr. Carpenter indicates in his Foreword to this volume, tremendous activity was generated by the federal program. In

Illinois, the Midwest office of the National Project on Ethnic America found nearly 100 organizations that had been "turned on" by the national funding possibilities and were interested in discussing an approach to securing additional resources from the State. Ethnic studies has shown itself to be an excellent coalition issue, not only among white ethnic groups but between white and nonwhite groups as well. Almost every discussion of the subject among white ethnic leaders begins with a comment like, "We have to thank the Blacks and Puerto Ricans and others for opening our eyes to our own identities."

Such unity is not automatic, of course, and funding usually brings competition as well as cooperation, but there is at least strong potential for intergroup alliances. If the issue is broadened at the state level to take in "group identity studies" which include ethnicity as a major category, it can also allow for coalitions with women who are demanding women's studies and with trade unions who have long been advocating better educational approaches to labor and working class history and problems. The total coalition platform can relate to these three major identity movements in contemporary society and can rally support from a wide variety of groups.

Specific components of a state proposal on group identity studies will vary from one state to another. In some cases, there is historic opposition to curriculum development at the legislative level; in others, such sanction and support might be essential. Looking around the country, we found the states have taken action (or programs have been proposed) in eight areas:

1. *Statements of official policy*
2. *Mandated curriculum*
3. *Legislative or administrative guidelines for textbook selection*
4. *Bilingual-bicultural program legislation*
5. *Requirements for teacher certification and training*
6. *Experimental programs of curriculum development*
7. *Statewide or regional ethnic studies centers*
8. *Local school district activity even in the absence of any state laws or policies*

Official State Education Policy

Statements of official policy endorsing ethnic studies put the state legislature or education department on record as supporting an important idea. As such, the policy declarations can be used as fundamental backup for groups promoting expanded programs. Many of the policies adopted by state legislatures contain the language of "multiethnicity" and "pluralism," but since these statements were generally adopted in the late 1960s, the implementing materials produced were necessarily minority group oriented and insufficiently inclusive. At the time the policies were debated and passed, these groups were indeed rightfully the primary focus of attention (and still should have a very high priority), but now other groups can take advantage of the broadness of the language to promote programs bridging both white and nonwhite needs for identity and knowledge about other groups, without detracting from the special approaches already instituted.

Official policy declarations can be little more than pious phrases and flowery language akin to those supporting motherhood. Supporters of ethnic and group identity studies activity can try to include in such statements the requirement that the state education department implement this policy and report on activity designed to do so. This approach commits the state to action rather than just ideology.

Mandated Curriculum

Some states' education laws prescribe what should be taught, and even identify the grade level at which certain subjects should be included. There are other states in which this approach is officially discouraged (North Carolina) or is not customary.

Those states where legislation mandates the teaching of ethnic material vary in their inclusiveness. New Jersey requires that Black history be a part of the two-year American history curriculum; Illinois, on the other hand, says that:

> *. . . the teaching of history shall include a study of the role and contribution of American Negroes and other ethnic groups including but not restricted to Polish, Lithuanian, German, Hungarian, Irish, Bohemian, Russian, Albanian, Italian, Czechoslovakian, French, Scots, etc.*

This Illinois law was passed in 1967 but almost no action was taken until 1972, when the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Michael Bakalis, established the Office of Ethnic Studies. In announcing the Office, Bakalis said:

> *I believe that ours can be a multilingual and multi-cultural society, and that America will be better and stronger for it. The long-expected decline of ethnicity has not taken place, as was predicted. Instead, emerging out of the peculiar experiences of life in America, we have witnessed in recent years an incredible burst of ethnic and racial pride.*
>
> *On balance, this development is a welcomed one. I say welcomed because it is in so many ways an outgrowth of the brutal racism and ethnocentricity which has made entry into the American mainstream a virtual impossibility for millions of people.*
>
> *I am convinced that the person who believes that* he is somebody *need not view the future with trepidation. The schools have a responsibility to help young people discover who they are and understand more perfectly who other people are.*

Some states mandate broader programs than others, as they link ethnicity with other elements of group life in America. In Pennsylvania, for instance, the regulations of the State Board of Education require that schools' instructional program include intergroup concepts to improve students' understanding and relationships around sex differences, race, national origin, religion, and socio-economic background. One of their bibliographies of resources is appropriately called *American Diversity.*

In Hawaii, perhaps the state most conscious and least shy about its diversity, the Legislature called in 1972 for a "more comprehensive program of ethnic studies," listed some of the specific groups to be included (Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Samoan, Portuguese, and Caucasian-American), and urged a concentration on their differences and problems as well as their similarities. The Legislature also asked for curriculum to include the pros and cons of the ethnic groups' assimilation into the dominant culture, to focus on the interrelationships among the groups, and to deal with the relationship between ethnicity and the state's labor movement.

California's mandate goes one step further and includes sex along with class and ethnicity. The State law requires "correct

portrayal" of ethnic contributions (Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians, and Orientals are listed but "other ethnic groups" are included). It also demands that textbooks "correctly portray" the role and contributions of the entrepreneur and of labor; and, further, that men and women be characterized in textbooks in all types of professional, vocational, and executive roles.

Textbook Selection

Legislative or administrative guidelines for textbook selection are one of the most common ways states attempt to implement declarations of policy or curriculum mandates. California's requirements for "correct portrayal" of various group experiences is a good example. It also points to the greatest difficulty in this entire program area: Whose version of the ethnic (or class or sex) group's history or contribution is the "correct" one? When does inclusiveness spill over into ideology, and a requirement designed to remedy invisibility become a requirement to teach in a prescribed way? Unfortunately, these questions point only to a need for flexibility and awareness, not to a formula answer or an ostrich-like avoidance of the issue.

In some states, the laws around use of textbooks are the vehicle through which they approach ethnic studies. Connecticut, for example, requires local school boards to use books presenting achievements of all ethnic groups; and in Maryland, the Education Department is asked by the Legislature to develop criteria for local school boards to use in selecting materials, based on the goal of "developing understanding and appreciation of ethnic and cultural minorities." (It might be noted that a conference on Ethnicity and Education held in Baltimore in 1974, co-sponsored by the National Project on Ethnic America, heard experiences of confusion over just which "ethnic and cultural minorities" were legitimate subjects of school curricula. Very few teachers appeared to have adequate materials dealing with the many white ethnic groups in the city, suburbs, and state.)

Bilingual-Bicultural Programs

The issue of bilingual education has emerged mainly as separate from ethnic studies and has commanded considerable attention on its own. Recent court cases and studies by the U.S.

Commission on Civil Rights[3] suggest that language of instruction will become an even more powerful issue than it has been in the past. While the concern of Spanish-speaking groups dominates and has been most effective in generating action on the language issue, bilingual education has also become an important demand of the Chinese and other Asian-Americans in San Francisco, the Greek- and Italian-Americans in New York, and the Portuguese in Massachusetts, among others.

Bilingual programs go beyond cultural identity and relate to fundamental questions of equal opportunity. In an *amicus curiae* brief submitted in San Francisco (in *Lau vs. Nichols*) by the American Jewish Committee and other groups, Arnold Leibowitz traced the history of English requirements and concluded:

> *. . . Historically they have been used to discriminate against particular nationalities and were—as California's were here—originally established with this intent. In sum, this pattern of political, economic and educational exclusion by linguistic laws, seemingly neutral in character, is repeated time and time again. . .*

In the classroom, many bilingual programs have come to include a bicultural component as well. There are many varieties of bilingual instruction, and a great deal of experimentation is taking place. Some of the experiences of ethnic studies programs will prove valuable to bilingual educators, and vice versa.

Teacher Certification and Training

Aside from their influence on curriculum, state legislatures also set the standards for the certification and sometimes the in-service training of teachers. Minnesota has a human relations training requirement for certification, as well as a voluntary program of human relations training that the State not only describes but also funds (payments go to the school, and to the participants, who are teaching and non-teaching staff). The language of the law is general and does not require all of the ethnic inclusion we advocate, but it does allow for it and it emphasizes community participation as part of training programs' planning and implementation.

California passed a law requiring in-service training programs in schools where more than 25 percent of the students are of

"diverse ethnic backgrounds." In planning for the implementation of this law, many ethnic groups pressed to be included in courses for teachers that were to stress history, culture, and current problems. The State's higher education institutions also became involved, as they were urged by the State Education Department to develop courses that teachers could take to meet the law's requirements.

In Pennsylvania, a bill is being drafted including a provision that candidates for teacher certification must have taken a course in ethnic studies. That term will be broadly defined to reflect the wide variety of Pennsylvania's groups, and possibly will be expanded and changed to "group identity studies" in order to include the class and sex dimensions.

Experimental Curriculum Development

As it finally was passed, the federal Ethnic Heritage Studies Act became a program of grants for curriculum development and teacher training. It is a useful model for states just entering into the ethnic studies field. It allows for considerable flexibility, makes resources available, and can require intergroup cooperation among ethnic groups and between ethnic communities, academic researchers, and educators.

One state, at least, will consider such a role in its 1974 legislative session. A preliminary bill in New Jersey calls for the establishment of an Office of Ethnic Studies within the Department of Education, to make grants (but only to local school districts, and only for half the cost) to develop curriculum materials, disseminate them, and train teachers in their use. In the version pre-filed in the spring of 1974 (which the sponsor has indicated he will modify after consultation with community leadership), there were no guidelines for the involvement of the states' universities and teachers colleges, or for cooperation with the communities that are the subjects of curriculum. Of course, such guidelines are always possible to construct administratively once funds are appropriated.

Legislation, administrative action, and/or funding designed to promote experimentation can be based on the broad concept of group identity as easily as on the idea of ethnic studies specifically. In a time when definitions and concerns are shifting, this kind of flexibility has much to recommend it.

State Ethnic Studies Centers

In some states, bills have been drafted that call for ethnic studies centers. Rep. Pucinski's original legislation had used the "center" idea, and it has the advantage of highlighting the entire program area and locating responsibility for implementation. But the legislative mandate regarding which ethnic groups are to be served by these centers should try to avoid the confusion that led federal lawmakers to change the "centers" idea to ethnic studies "projects."

That discussion was based on language that first defined an ethnic studies center as serving a "single culture or regional group of cultures," then talked about each center's serving "all ethnic groups in the area." In either case, it is more possible for conflict to occur than it is when such definitions are left looser. For instance, under a "single culture" limitation, many groups could end up competing for resources that will never (at least to the groups themselves) be adequate. Or, if "all groups in the area" must be served, the demand could prove totally impossible.

In any structural model, there will probably be potential for friction, since the groups concerned feel deeply about their having been neglected. Planners therefore need to project the possible consequences of various approaches as well as involving a wide range of leadership in preliminary discussions. A network of state ethnic studies centers related to the state university system, with a requirement of cooperative work with community leadership and resources, could be a valuable structure to work with the school system. A state's education structure, the historic relationship between state and local boards of education, the best way of enlisting top talent in research, training, and curriculum design—all of these should be factors in determining the best structural model.

Independent Local Activity

In many states, local districts or individual schools have undertaken programs even in the absence of state legislation or policy directives. Much of this activity is described in Philip Rosen's paper. More will be stimulated by the federal Program, even among those grant applicants who did not receive funds.

General Principles for State Involvement

Unfortunately, there is no one model for adequate state involvement in ethnic and group identity concerns in education. There are, however, some general criteria that we see as desirable concepts to keep in mind while planning:

1. *Inclusiveness:* The language of the legislation or policy statement should reflect the broadest possible meaning of "ethnic" without making it so broad as to be meaningless and without undercutting other programs that already give special emphasis and visibility to nonwhite groups. Language that includes a conception of diversity, pluralism, and group identity is more likely to resonate with more groups than a mere listing of all the ethnic groups in a state.

2. *Balance:* There should be an emphasis both on the need for self-identity and on the goal of improved intergroup relations. It is also important to balance the concern for ethnicity and other forms of group identity with a desire for a more honest and effective unity. There is, after all, a need to maintain a common culture as well as allowing for cultural diversity; and although a state's legislature or school board may not immediately know the techniques to create this delicate balance between the universal and the particular, it should put on record its commitment to doing so—which is really a commitment to pluralism.

3. *Comprehensiveness:* Looking to the future and to an expansion of concern for group identity, a state policy-making body would be wise to include a comprehensive approach to programs in this area, allowing for the women's and trade union agendas to be satisfied. Labor and working class identity, sex-role identity for boys and girls, and ethnic group identity are all important and rising forces. At any particular time, one aspect may be more important for a person than others. If states' programs deal with the larger topic of group identity, no group will be excluded and no individual will be forced to accept a self-definition that is limited by the narrowest conception of ethnic background. A society with multiple group allegiances and affiliations demands educational efforts that deal with this complexity.

4. *Cooperation:* New laws, policies, and programs relating to ethnicity and group identity open up the possibilities for cooperation between educators, academics, and community groups. Also, just among educators there is the opportunity for joint programming among teachers, administrators, teacher training

institutions, boards of education, non-public schools, and non-school educational and cultural facilities and groups. The broadest possible cooperation can be mandated by state regulations as a precondition for funding. Certainly everyone need not be involved in every project, but a state's overall program should insure adequate participation by these various sectors of the educational, academic, and organizational communities.

5. *Flexibility:* Since much is unknown about the best way to develop curriculum around group identity, the state's regulations should not be too rigid. New research should be encouraged, experimentation should be possible, and programs should be able to shift their focus as new needs and possibilities are discovered. If the language of state policy is inclusive, stresses balance, and is comprehensive, flexibility of subject matter will be built in; if it also mandates cooperation in the fullest sense, it will help insure flexibility of sponsorship and structure.

A Strategy for Achievement

How can these principles be turned into reality? How can interested groups bring about attention to the identity needs of ethnic groups and others at the state level? Who should be part of a coalition designed to bring in new programs and resources?

There are certainly a wide variety of groups with an interest in one form or another of group identity and ethnic studies: boards of education, teachers, curriculum development specialists, schools and departments of education, guidance counselors, community relations organizations, ethnic associations, groups based in ethnic neighborhoods, cultural institutions, museums, libraries, historical associations, social researchers, local artists and writers, community colleges, vocational training institutions, nonpublic schools—and especially if a broader approach than ethnicity is taken, women's groups and unions.

These varying constituencies will have differing ideas about the questions raised throughout this publication: the meaning of "ethnic" and "group identity," the goals of curriculum in this area, how to build in safeguards against fragmentation, how to structure curriculum, what disciplinary approaches should be taken (history, art, etc.), how much legislation is needed and/or desirable, what form state activity should take, etc. Such issues of definition and values will need to be discussed and, if not totally harmonized, at least resolved to the satisfaction of key coalition members.

A constructive first step might involve an investigation of what the state is currently doing in the ethnic studies field, in labor studies, and in women's studies. The checklist at the end of this chapter is designed to be a tool in that exploration. It may turn out that there are possibilities for introducing new programs and securing new resources within the limits of existing legislation. Perhaps it will require an official change in the definition of "ethnic" or "minority group," a change that can occur through administrative or executive action. Or new legislation may be the best strategy, and constituent groups will need to educate their memberships as to the options and issues involved.

Timing is an important element in organizing a coalition, especially if its efforts are to attract public attention. As new ethnic studies programs are developed and tested under the federal Act, interest can be predicted to rise and more groups will probably apply for funds. Such momentum creates an opportune moment for enlisting those groups in a coalition to bring new state resources into the field.

The climate in America may well be shifting toward a new understanding of ethnicity and other forms of group identity. There is still considerable dispute around the meaning and possible outcome of such a shift, but to us it represents a possibility for a healthier and more open society. If positive and progressive people lead the new movements for programs and changes, that possibility is enhanced. If they fail to become central leadership forces, there are always enough individuals and groups committed to "ethnic chauvinism" rather than to a combination of positive self-identity and improved intergroup relations. The prophets of doom will be the winners only if creative educators and ethnic leaders default.

Checklist for State Involvement in Ethnic Studies

In seeking states' involvement in ethnic studies and other issues of group identity (especially working class and women's concerns), it will be useful to look at what is already happening and what possibilities are on the immediate horizon. This checklist, based on material in *The Schools and Group Identity*, is designed to serve as an outline for that investigation.

A. State Policy and Administration

1. Does the state have a policy statement relating to ethnic studies or group identity?
2. How broad is the policy: is it limited to specifically named ethnic groups, or does it use terms such as "multiethnic," "diversity," and "pluralism," thereby allowing for the inclusion of many groups?
3. Is the policy broad enough to include working class identity (e.g., labor union studies) and women's identity?
4. Whose policy statement is it—does it come from the legislature, the state board of education, the state superintendent? Are there other groups whose policy statements should also be solicited?
5. Is there a requirement for implementation in the statement? Is responsibility assigned? Is there a reporting requirement or any other way to find out whether the policy is being implemented?

B. Curriculum Requirements

1. Is there a mandate for teaching ethnic studies? How broad is the mandate, how inclusive (as in A-2 and A-3 above)?
2. Does the curriculum mandate require the goals of both self-identity and positive intergroup relations?

3. Does the state require only the teaching of the history and contributions of ethnic groups, or does it require (or at least allow for) the use of other approaches such as the psychology, politics, economics, and sociology of groups? Does it emphasize the contributions of "average individuals" as well as heroes?

4. Is the curriculum that is mandated required to be a separate course? Is content required to be integrated into existing courses and textbooks? Is the requirement flexible?

5. Does the state require curriculum that contains affective (emotion-related) approaches as well as cognitive (intellect-related) ones?

6. How is the mandate implemented? Where is responsibility?

7. Are any state resources or training experiences available to help local schools implement the mandate?

C. Textbook Selection

1. Are there legislative and/or administrative guidelines for textbook selection related to ethnicity and group identity? How broad are they, how inclusive?

2. Do textbook selection guidelines stress only the history and contributions of groups (as in B-3 above)?

3. Is there a process of community involvement in the recommendation and selection of materials without giving license to censorship?

D. Teacher Certification and Training

1. Is there any requirement for teacher certification relating to knowledge about various ethnic groups? Is the requirement broad and inclusive, but not so general or vague as to be meaningless?

2. Is specific ethnic-related course content required before a teacher can be certified?

3. Is there a requirement for training in human relations, and how is that defined?

4. Is in-service training required of teachers? Of some teachers or all? How often? Does the requirement contain an ethnic component? Is it limited to teachers who teach "ethnic" or "diverse" children—and who is meant by those terms?

5. Is the state university or state teachers' college required to teach any ethnic studies or group identity courses?

E. Experimentation and State Resources

1. Is there an Office of Ethnic Studies or similar structure? What groups are included under its jurisdiction?

2. Do any other divisions of the state education department initiate activity in ethnicity or group identity? The office administering the federal Emergency School Assistance Act may handle such programs, or the Human Relations or Intercultural Education division, or even the International Education or Cross-Cultural Studies bureau. What activity is going on in the Social Studies curriculum development office? In Humanities, Art, Literature, Languages? Does one division know about the activities of others?

3. Are there any state funds available for experimentation with curriculum development or training?

F. New Programs Under Consideration

1. Has anyone proposed establishing, either legislatively or through executive action, a state Ethnic Studies Center? Is the language of the proposal likely to provoke inter-ethnic conflict or stimulate cooperation?

2. Has a program of state support for new projects in ethnic or group identity studies been proposed? Who is eligible to receive funds, only school districts or also community groups? Is cooperation mandated among educators and between educators and the community?

3. Has anyone proposed new state programs of research on the group identity needs of the state's various groups?

4. Is the language of new proposals or new state guidelines inclusive of the needs of many groups, including working

class people and women? Is it balanced to emphasize the common culture and unity as well as ethnic identity and diversity? Is it comprehensive in terms of those who should be involved, and does it require cooperation among the various interested parties? Is it flexible enough to meet needs that may not yet have emerged?

Footnotes

Educating for a "New Pluralism"

1. For a detailed look at one group affected by a combination of these forces, working class ethnic women, see Nancy Seifer. *Absent From the Majority: Working Class Women in America* (New York: National Project on Ethnic America, 1973).

2. See Andrew Greeley. *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, American Jewish Committee, 1969); Milton Gordon. *Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); and David Danzig. "The Social Framework of Ethnic Conflict in America," in Murray Friedman, ed., *Overcoming Middle Class Rage* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971).

3. Some examples of this ethnic influence are contained in Irving Levine and Judith Herman. "The Life of White Ethnics." *Dissent* (Winter 1972).

4. This and subsequent quotations are from Erik Erikson. *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968).

5. Kurt Lewin. *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper and Row, 1948).

6. For a more detailed look at the psychological theories involving socialization and the relationship among ethnic group, family and individual development, see Joseph Giordano. *Ethnicity and Mental Health* (New York: National Project on Ethnic America, 1973).

7. See Philip Perlmutter. "Ethnic Education: Can It be Relevant," reprinted by the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity from *Massachusetts Teacher*. This article contains brief historical examples of how educators have explicitly rejected affiliation with ethnicity. Additional historical examples can be found in two recent books: Stanley Feldstein and Lawrence Costello, ed., *The Ordeal of Assimilation* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1974); and Joseph Ryan, ed., *White Ethnics: Their Life in Working Class America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Spectrum Books, Fall 1974).

8. Albert Memmi. *Dominated Man* (New York: Orion Press, 1968).

9. See Colin Greer. *The Great School Legend* (New York: Viking Press, 1972); and David K. Cohen. "Immigrants in Schools." *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 40 (February, 1970).

10. For an excellent description of teaching such students, see Leonard Kriegel. "When Blue Collar Students Go to College." *Saturday Review* (July 22, 1972), from his book *Working Through* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972).

11. Gerald Lesser and Susan S. Stodolsky. "Learning Patterns in the Disadvantaged." *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 37 (Fall, 1967).

12. For observations from a primarily Polish school setting, see Howard F. Stein, "Confirmation of the White Ethnic Stereotype," *School Review*, Vol. 82 (May, 1974).

13. Morris Rosenberg and Robert G. Simmons, *Black and White Self-Esteem: The Urban School Child* (Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association—Rose Monograph Series, 1971). This report also summarizes other self-esteem studies of the 1960s.

14. See Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Fawcett, 1969); and *The Hidden Dimension* (New York: Doubleday, 1969).

15. The full statement is published in the *Bulletin* of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (Washington, D.C., November, 1972).

Strategies and Approaches to Ethnic Studies Curriculum Development

1. Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

2. The idea of ethnic groups as economic and political interest groups is developed in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (second ed., Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970).

3. See *The Image of Pluralism in American Literature: An Annotated Bibliography on the European Ethnic Group Experience*, by Babette Inglehart and Anthony Mangione (New York: Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, 1974).

4. For principles and techniques in affective education, see Benjamin Bloom, *et al. Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. Handbook I: The Affective Domain* (New York: David McKay Co., 1956).

5. For more details on value clarification, see Sidney Simon and Louis Roth, *Values in Teaching* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill, 1966).

6. An abridged version of this report, "Developing Criteria for Evaluating Ethnic Studies Materials," by James Anderson, is available as a reprint from the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity.

State Support for New Programs

1. From testimony by Irving M. Levine, of the National Project on Ethnic America.

2. House hearings were held on H.R. 14910 on February 16th and other dates, 1970. Senate hearings were on S. 659, and are included in Part 2 of the volumes of hearings on Education Amendments of 1971, on April 20, 1971.

3. See the reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights "Mexican American Educational Series," 1971-1973.

Curriculum Resources

Additional information on the programs referred to in "Strategies and Approaches to Ethnic Studies Curriculum Development" may be obtained by writing directly to the following agencies.

California

Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. 1 Garden Circle. Hotel Claremont. Berkeley. California 94705.

Social Studies Specialist. San Diego City Schools. 4100 Normal Street. San Diego. California 92103.

Intergroup Education Consultant. Stockton Unified School District. 701 N. Madison Street. Stockton. California 95202.

Multiculture Institute. 693 Mission Street. Suite 311. San Francisco. California 94105.

Connecticut

Greenwich Public Schools. P.O. Box 292. Greenwich. Connecticut 06830.

Florida

Social Studies Consultant. Dade County Public Schools. 1410 N.E. Second Avenue. Room 306. Miami. Florida 33132.

Georgia

Atlanta Public Schools. Instructional Services Center. 2930 Forrest Hill Drive. S.W.. Atlanta. Georgia 30315.

Curriculum Development. State Department of Education. Atlanta. Georgia 30334.

Hawaii

General Education Branch. Office of Instructional Services. Department of Education. Honolulu. Hawaii 96804.

Illinois

Peoria Public Schools. 3202 N. Wisconsin Avenue. Peoria. Illinois 61603.

State Superintendent's Office. 302 State Office Building. Springfield. Illinois 62706.

Kansas

Unified School District. P.O. Box 808. Salina. Kansas 67401.

Curriculum Section. Division of Instructional Services. 1210 East 10th Street. Topeka. Kansas 66612.

Kentucky

Assistant Superintendent for Instruction. Department of Education. Frankfort. Kentucky 40601.

Louisiana

Superintendent. East Baton Rouge Parish Schools. Baton Rouge. Louisiana 70800.

Maine

Modern Foreign Languages. Department of Education. Augusta. Maine 04330.

Massachusetts

State Department of Education. 182 Tremont Street. Boston. Massachusetts 02135.

Michigan

Department of Social Studies. Detroit Public Schools. Detroit. Michigan 48200.

Ethnic Heritage Studies Center. 163 Madison Avenue. Detroit. Michigan 48226.

Minnesota

Rochester Public Schools. Rochester. Minnesota 55901.

Montana

Indian Heritage Program. Browning High School. Browning. Montana 59417.

Nevada

Clark County School District. 2832 East Flamingo Road. Las Vegas. Nevada 89121.

New York

Bureau of Social Studies. Board of Education. 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn. New York 11201.

Racial Ethnic Action Project. Freeport Public Schools. P.O. Box 30. Freeport. New York 11520.

Educational Design, Inc.. 47 West 13th Street. New York. New York 10011.

Project Beacon. Rochester Public Schools. Rochester. New York 14600.

Ohio

State Superintendent's Office. Columbus, Ohio 43214.

Oklahoma

Carnegie Public Schools, P.O. Box 159, Carnegie, Oklahoma 73101.

Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1901 N. Ellison Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73106.

Texas

International and Bilingual Education, Texas Education Agency, 201 E. First Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

Assistant Superintendent of Instruction, Laredo Independent School District, Laredo, Texas 78040.

Utah

Coordinator of Title IV, Ogden City Schools, 2444 Adams Avenue, Ogden, Utal 84401.

Title I Coordinator, Uintah School District, P.O. Box 580, Vernal, Utah 84078.

Washington, D.C.

Supervising Director, Social Studies, D.C. Department of Education, Washington, D.C. 20000.

Wyoming

State Superintendent's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82001.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Program Act

TITLE IX, ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 901. In recognition of the heterogeneous composition of the nation and of the fact that in a multiethnic society a greater understanding of the contributions of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace, and in recognition of the principle that all persons in the educational institutions of the Nation should have an opportunity to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group, it is the pu[illegible]se of this title to provide assistance designed to afford to students opportunities to learn about the nature of their own cultural heritage, and to study the contributions of the cultural heritages of the other ethnic groups of the Nation.

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES PROGRAMS

SEC. 902. The Commissioner is authorized to make grants to, and contracts with, public and private nonprofit educational agencies, institutions, and organizations to assist them in planning, developing, establishing, and operating ethnic heritage studies programs, as provided in this title.

AUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES

SEC. 903. Each program assisted under this title shall—

(1) develop curriculum material for use in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education relating to the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of the group or groups with which the program is concerned and the contributions of that ethnic group or groups to the American heritage;

(2) disseminate curriculum materials to permit their use in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education throughout the Nation;

(3) provide training for persons using or preparing to use, curriculum materials developed under this title; and

(4) cooperate with persons and organizations with a special interest in the ethnic group or groups with which the program is concerned to assist them in promoting, encouraging, developing, or producing programs or other activities which relate to the history, culture, or traditions of that ethnic group or groups.

APPLICATIONS

SEC. 904. (a) Any public or private nonprofit agency, institution, or organization desiring assistance under this title shall make application therefor in accordance with the provisions of this title and other applicable law and with regulations of the Commissioner promulgated for the purposes of this title. The Commissioner shall approve an application under this title only if he determines that—

(1) the program for which the application seeks assistance will be operated by the applicant and that the applicant will carry out such program, in accordance with this title;

(2) such program will involve the activities described in section 903; and

(3) such program has been planned, and will be carried out, in consultation with an advisory council which is representative of the ethnic group or groups with which the program is concerned and which is appointed in a manner prescribed by regulation.

(b) In approving applications under this title, the Commissioner shall insure that there is cooperation and coordination of efforts among the programs assisted under this title, including the exchange of materials and information and joint programs where appropriate.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 905. (a) In carrying out this title, the Commissioner shall make arrangements which will utilize (1) the research facilities and personnel of institutions of higher education, (2) the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and of foreign students pursuing their education in this country, (3) the expertise of teachers in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education, and (4) the talents and experience of any other groups such as foundations, civic groups, and fraternal organizations which would further the goals of the programs.

(b) Funds appropriated to carry out this title may be used to cover all or part of the cost of establishing and carrying out the programs, including the cost of research materials and resources, academic consultants, and the cost of training of staff for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of this title. Such funds may also be used to provide stipends (in such amounts as may be determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner) to individuals receiving training as part of such programs, including allowances for dependents.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 906. (a) There is hereby established a National Advisory Council on Ethnic Heritage Studies consisting of fifteen members appointed by the Secretary who shall be appointed, serve, and be compensated as provided in part D of the General Education Provisions Act.

(b) Such Council shall, with respect to the program authorized by this title, carry out the duties and functions specified in part D of the General Education Provisions Act.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM THE INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY

THE IMAGE OF PLURALISM IN AMERICAN LITERATURE: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE OF EUROPEAN ETHNIC GROUPS.

by Babette F. Inglehart and Anthony R. Mangione

Contains fiction, history, biography, drama and poetry. A valuable tool for teachers attempting to integrate ethnic content into curricula **$1.50**

DEVELOPING CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING ETHNIC STUDIES MATERIAL

by James M. Anderson

Provides insights into development of comprehensive criteria to aid educators in the selection of ethnic studies resources. Reprinted from *Audiovisual Instruction* **10¢**

ETHNIC EDUCATION: CAN IT BE RELEVANT?

by Philip Perlmutter

An examination of the psychological and "self-actualization" dimensions of ethnic studies material. Reprinted from *The Massachusetts Teacher* **25¢**

THE NEGLECTED DIMENSION: ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE CITY

by Philip Rosen

A senior high school ethnic studies curriculum organized around themes of self-identity, neighborhoods, organizational life and political issues. Includes teacher and student materials stressing both information and values. (Available Winter, 1975)

ABSENT FROM THE MAJORITY: WORKING CLASS WOMEN IN AMERICA

by Nancy Seifer

An insightful analysis of the changing roles and needs of this often-ignored group with recommendations for institutional response **$1.25**

ETHNICITY AND MENTAL HEALTH: RESEARCH AND RECOMMENDATIONS

by Joseph Giordano

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Important social theory and grassroots response from the San Francisco Conference on Ethnicity. Full text of presentations by Nathan Glazer and Irving M. Levine **50¢**

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